ARCTIC PIPELINE **QUINCY DADISMAN**

THE NATION

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LETTERS

Irish warning

Santa Barbara, Calif.

DEAR SIRS: The timely article by John M. Swomley, Jr. ["Church, State and Mr. Nixon," *The Nation*, Sept. 11] is not irrelevant to the gross imposture on education whereby Ireland (where I lived in the late 19th century) surrendered its public education to the control of religious authoritarians. Unfortunately the opposition of the Young Irelanders to those sectarian claims in the 1830s crumbled, and the so-called Irish National School system was initiated as the least common denominator of theological dogmas, Catholic and Protestant. One catastrophic effect of this mistake struck the country shortly thereafter; the mid-19th-century famine was unsuccessfully combatted by an economically and biologically illiterate public. Gavan Duffy said that Ireland had become "a corpse on the dissecting table," but there were no competent dissectors.

Nor is present-day schooling in Ireland without responsibility for the fanatical ructions and imbecilities in Ulster. Conor Cruise O'Brien asserts that the Republic's history texts deliberately provoke hate. The cost of belated technical instruction has run high. Both Dublin and Belfast continue their publicly supported but sectarian and segregated schools. Legalized censorship in the Republic has shorn its libraries and bookstores of important literature in anthropology, etc. Quite evidently Bernard Shaw raised no alarm when he warned that "The seed of Torquemada as well as the seed of Calvin is in Irish soil. Let us beware!"

Yet disdain of the rights of both children and adults is not a heritage of the best in either Irish or British, any more than of American, history. Robert Emmet was at one with the United Irishmen when he desired "A nation pregnant with science and experience," and he declined officially proffered clerical consolations as he approached the scaffold. Speaking in Belfast in 1874, John Tyndall who was of South Irish but in part Orange parentage, said, "I should look upon the mild light of science breaking in on the minds of the youth of Ireland . . . as a surer check to any intellectual or spiritual tyranny which may threaten this island than the laws of princes or the swords of emperors. . . ." Dr. Noel Browne, Bernadette Devlin, Conor Cruise O'Brien, the late Owen S. Skeffington voice the inadvisability of "fighting like devils for reconciliation and hating each other for the luv o' God." But doctrinaire schools promote the practice. Mr. Nixon might well look to Ireland for illustration. *Dan Molony*

NASA's quiet plans

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: Readers of *The Nation* should be aware, as evidently Rep. Les Aspin is not ["The Space Shuttle's Real Cost," *The Nation*, Sept. 4] that NASA has by no means "agreed to abandon" its plans for a multibillion-dollar manned orbital space station. The space agency was indeed forced to cancel its original goal of concurrent development of the space station and the space shuttle, as fears arose that this would require peak annual budgets of $7 billion in the mid-1970s for NASA. But space officials have been completely open about their expectations that the station will be built some time in the next decade.

"The camel's nose under the tent," to use Mr. Aspin's phrasing, in this instance is something called the "sortie module" or the Research and Applications modules (RAMs). The sortie module will basically be a research laboratory [carrying six scientists]. . . . The shuttle would remain in orbit for as long as a month, while the scientists carried out their experimental work in space sciences or space applications (meteorology, remote sensing, commu-

(*Continued on page 277*)

EDITORIALS

The U.N.: 'New Look' for 1972

The tremors originating from the drama in the Olympic Village were felt as the annual fall session of the U.N. General Assembly convened in New York. The Middle East problem remains the one international issue where no progress is in sight, in the United Nations or outside.

In the wake of Munich, the new Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, has had the courage, in a house known for pussy-footing, to propose a debate in the General Assembly on the question of terrorism, with a view to focusing the attention of the international community on the urgent need for measures to reduce ever increasing violence in the world. Mr. Waldheim was fully aware of the storm he would create in many quarters—not only from those hostile to Israel but in political circles where terrorism is considered a last but necessary resort against an unjust established order. He was quick to reassure diplomats that his concern was not directed against one single act by a single group but primarily for the life and welfare of innocent people, and was directed as well to the problems which are at the root of terrorism.

Given the powerful equalizer of U.N. rhetoric, it is possible, even likely, that the General Assembly debate on terrorism will be buried in legal definitions and multi-sided polemics. Yet, the fact that it will take place at all is evidence of the "new look" which Mr. Waldheim wants to imprint on the largely discredited organization.

Since his accession to the post, Mr. Waldheim has adopted a policy strongly and avowedly dependent on public relations. For the fatalistic and discouraged attitude of U Thant he has substituted a deliberate, well-publicized program of putting himself and the U.N. "in the picture," whenever he can; of trying to thaw frozen situations, and of offering his good offices, even when there is no taker in sight. He has done so with a visit to South Africa and with bold statements on Vietnam. He has busily made contacts with governments in cases of hijacking. His constant travels to capitals during his first year in office, his dramatization of current issues, from terrorism to population problems, have been criticized by some as hasty and sometimes ill-advised. Time will tell whether this policy will get results or whether the energetic Mr. Waldheim will have spread himself too far and too fast for an organization which lacks the cohesion or the power or even the desire to act on political problems and which has very little breath left, except for speeches, in the long race for peace. Mr. Waldheim's position is that he must at least try to erase the image of the U.N. as a "do-nothing" institution.

The same spirit seemed, in his inaugural address, to move the new President of the General Assembly, Mr. Stanislaw Trepczinski, Vice-Foreign Minister of Poland. Surely, Mr. Trepczinski, whose political role as president is very limited, follows mainly the present preoccupations of the Soviet Union. But his theme was not only the existing trends of détente but a plea for the contagion of peace, the improvement of life, the worth of the individual and his cultural values. He refrained from name-calling and

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asked the forbidden question: "If it is true that no one wants this war in Indochina, and if the statesmen who are responsible for it wish to cease ignoring world opinion, have we not the right to expect it to be stopped, once and for all?"

There is no sign that President Nixon is paying much attention to the diplomatic gathering on the East River, and the usual turnout of foreign ministers seems to be thin this year. Yet the droning debates in the chambers have the curious effect, if not of solving perennial world crises, at least of putting under a strong light the general concerns and priorities of men. ANNE TUCKERMAN

Whose Army?

That august personage, Adm. Thomas C. Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is quoted as saying that the Lavelle affair has been overplayed, but has not hurt the military. Is he sure?

The Lavelle episode does not stand alone. Before that the Army was disgraced by the My Lai massacre and its unsatisfactory conclusion. Part of the reason for the spreading distrust of government is that people have reached the reasonable conclusion that military spokesmen are no more truthful than civilian bureaucrats, and that the buck may be passed all the way up to or down from the top.

With Lavelle it became the Air Force's turn. The charge against Lavelle was both more and less serious than that against Calley. Calley, according to the court-martial, was just a military murderer of foreign and very remote civilians. Lavelle, giving orders from his four-star eminence, was spared from direct infliction of death and destruction, but what he acknowledges he did do has the most serious implications for the future security of the United States. Security has two faces, external and internal. Defense against a foreign enemy has never been a serious question, except how much security is needed, in what forms, and against whom. But security against the military itself brings up an old question: *Quis custodiet custodes?*

The question has not been answered, for the testimony before Senator Stennis' Armed Services Committee has been conflicting. To put it charitably, somebody's memory is conveniently faulty. At such high levels, that is a matter of the greatest possible importance.

After hearing Gen. Creighton W. Abrams testify, Senator Stennis said, caustically according to the reporter covering the hearings:

> There is something that just sticks out here to me. You and General Lavelle decided under the rules you were operating under to hit those radars and you did. And the Joint Chiefs disapproved of that, and you stopped. And General Lavelle kept on an amazing record of activity here, he was your deputy, and this all happened there within your reach, somewhat within your responsibility and you didn't know about it?

General Abrams repeated that he did not know and Stennis resumed:

> . . . now Lavelle has already been corrected, and I just do not see how he could, on his own—and I am not saying you were the one who encouraged it—but just solely on his own, I don't see how he could have launched out on plans like this.

IN THIS ISSUE

October 2, 1972

EDITORIALS

258

ARTICLES

262 Arctic Pipeline: Known Problems & Unknown Effects — *Quincy Dadisman*

266 Censorship by Taxation: New Muzzle for Churchmen — *Joseph A. Ruskay*

269 Northern Ireland: The Implacable Terrorism — *Andrew Boyd*

272 Black Students: Where Did Their Revolution Go? — *J. K. Obatala*

274 Counter Commercials: The Customers Fight Back — *Thomas De Baggio*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

278 Dillard: Black English — *Robert L. Chapman*

279 Radiant Fathers, Alienated Sons — *Dusty Sklar*

280 Typewriter Without Keys (poem) — *Phyllis Janowitz*

281 Buckley: Inveighing We Will Go — *Charles Lam Markmann*

282 Barnstone, ed.: Eighteen Texts — *Peter Mackridge*

283 For Such a Bird He Had No Convenient Cage (poem) — *Jean Garrigue*

284 Soyinka: The Interpreters — *Alan Cheuse*

285 Kriegel: Edmund Wilson — *Robert Emmet Long*

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SEP 29 '72

Of course if General Abrams acknowledged that he was privy to General Lavelle's operations, that would be the end of his aspiration to be Army Chief of Staff. It would also jeopardize Admiral Moorer's continuance as chairman of the Joint Chiefs. It would raise still more serious questions; as Senator Hughes said: "Does the President himself know what really happens to his orders?" Which are savage enough, one would think, without savagery being aggravated by indiscipline among his highest military commanders.

Consider also General Lavelle's situation. He was punished, but not very severely. One star was taken away from him on his retirement, leaving him with three—still one more than George Washington had. He is endowed with a virtually tax-free income of $25,000 a year. But if he is guilty of misconduct in his retirement, means no doubt can be found to call him to further account. If he has testified falsely against his superiors, should not appropriate measures be taken? If he told the truth about his superiors, are they to get away with their wrongdoing?

The questions cannot be left hanging in air. What is at stake here is civilian control of the military. In any country, only moral force or disagreement among key officers, can keep the military within constitutional bounds. In the United States that has not heretofore been a serious problem: General MacArthur's conduct at one time verged on insubordination, but never in a really threatening degree, and later he gave President Kennedy sound advice about staying out of Southeast Asia which was unhappily ignored. But the past is often a poor guide to the future. George Reedy, who was special assistant and press secretary to President Johnson, has suggested in *The Twilight of the Presidency* that the United States is headed for the rule of a dictator, a "man on horseback." Reedy is an experienced corporation executive and public servant. He may be quite wrong, but he is not an alarmist.

Insulation

The failure of Allard Lowenstein to upset John J. Rooney in their court-ordered rerun of a primary contest in the 14th Congressional District of Brooklyn, N.Y.—a matter of national importance—was forecast in a survey by Murray Schumach in *The New York Times* on the day before the election. Schumach did not try to gather statistics; all he did was go around and talk to people, most of whom, apparently, were not going to bother to vote. And among those who did intend to go to the polls, a large proportion were determined to vote purely on the basis of narrow self-interest of one kind or another. To oversimplify the situation, it was a case of the Brooklyn Heights intelligentsia and a minority of enlightened blacks, Puerto Ricans and whites vs. the machine, the apolitical, and those for whom politics goes no further than what happens, or may happen, on the block where they live.

The 14th Congressional District, Schumach points out, is one of the most ethnic, racial, religious and economically varied in the nation. It is a good-sized urban sample—460,000 residents—but the primary vote, despite the excitement generated this time by the sharp contrast between the candidates, runs to only about 29,000. That is one fact to be reckoned with—sheer indifference.

This indifference, and the disillusionment and disgust associated with it, are an ominous symptom. A typical expression of political negativism was that of a man playing with his grandson against a background of mobile machinery and a gigantic power plant: "The people I know don't go for those last-minute promises. They've been fooled too many times." Many eligible voters made no distinction between the incumbent machine politician and the newcomer who, given their support, might change things, or at least give change a good try. Their general loss of confidence in the government has the effect of entrenching bad government in office.

Then there are the voters who are concerned only with their own needs and dissatisfactions. One can sympathize with the cardiac patient who lives on the 13th floor of a building in which the defective elevator runs only to the 7th floor. One may also sympathize—but a lot less—with the young men who were going into a bar to watch the Yankee game on television. "For ten years," one of them said, "we've been trying to get lights so we can play at night on the hard court." He pointed across the street. "To us, that's important. Nothing happens." He predicted that the "old-timers" would put Rooney back in, and he was right.

Some Hasidic Jews were going to vote for Rooney instead of his liberal Jewish opponent, despite the reputation of Jews (with plenty of exceptions, of course) for decency and compassion in politics. Rooney has been liberal, in his fashion, with private bills enabling them to bring relatives into the United States. Then there were the non-Hasidic Jews: "It's not that we love Rooney so much," one of them said. "But we know he will do more for the Jews." This is an almost word-for-word parody on the story about the old lady who listened uncomprehendingly to a long argument about the Brooklyn Dodgers, and then asked, "But is it good or bad for the Jewish people?"

One can see the point of view of the longshoremen who vote for Rooney because they figure that, with his twenty-eight years in Congress and his seniority, he can get benefits for the waterfront. Farmers vote that way too. What is more disquieting is the prevalent attitude expressed by, "You see one politician, you've seen them all." That was a principal factor in Lowenstein's defeat.

There is a lesson in this also for those who *are* interested in politics and who know the difference between a Rooney and a Lowenstein. Because they are outraged by Nixon's bombing of Vietnam, they think everyone else must be. That is wishful thinking: probably by now a majority of the American people couldn't care less. As long as their own kin are not on the casualty lists, they can sleep well of nights. The war does bother them, but only because it drags on, costs money and seems endless. They would like to see it over with, but how doesn't matter. We all have this tendency to consort with our own kind and to protect our sensibilities against the harsh fact that Mr. Nixon has succeeded in selling to the American public the first American war which did not have some kind of moral basis, or at least had the decency to pretend there was one. If Mr. McGovern can turn that around he will, as Tom Paine said, deserve the love and thanks of his countrymen.

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William F. Ryan

On the day before William F. Ryan died, one of those hard-case political savants who seem to infest New York City was heard to say: "Bill Ryan's problem is that he's so damn stubborn, so single-minded, so upright, that he won't compromise. How can you get anywhere in politics if you won't compromise?"

That would depend on where you want to get. Representative Ryan served six terms in the House and, after a bitter and divisive primary, was almost certainly on his way to a seventh when he died on September 17 at the age of 50. He was a Democrat in the Stevenson tradition and probably the only unsullied hero of the Democratic Reform movement in New York, a movement he had done so much to bring about. He served with distinction as a representative from Manhattan's Upper West Side. But his real constituency lay somewhere in the region of his conscience, and he went on serving it to the end.

He headed no important Congressional committee; he was not a national spokesman; he was not a celebrity. What he was was a good Congressman. Hardly any elected official in Washington now supports the war in Vietnam, but in 1963, when Mr. Ryan first stood up to speak against it, he was considered to be a misguided liberal with blurred vision and possibly traitorous instincts. As a junior member of the Congress he opposed renewed funding of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, he opposed excessive nuclear arms spending and, in that same Sinophobic era, had the presumption, as a freshman member, to propose the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. Of such notions are political non-careers made.

And yet Ryan endured. And to say that his career was anything less than a success would be to deny the bases of our political process. The man stood up in the national forum and, again and again, said what he believed. Very often what he said did not sit well with the Democratic powers in Congress. But William Ryan had a special, personal constituency to serve and he had that wonderfully irritating habit of being so damn stubborn, single-minded and upright.

PAUL DUFFY

Love and Lamb Chops

Some years ago it used to be said around New York publishing houses that, considering the topics of sentimental interest that canny writers were coining into best-sellers, the ultimate money maker would be a book entitled *Lincoln's Doctor's Dog*. As far as we know the book was never written, but the editorial principle survives and can be seen in operation today: Prentice-Hall is currently advertising a work by Dr. Abraham I. Friedman, whose "exciting discovery" is embodied in the title of his book, *How Sex Can Keep You Slim*. The table of contents is enticing: "Reach for Your Mate Instead of Your Plate," "Techniques of Sexual Stimulation" (one wonders what Dr. Friedman has "discovered" in that area) and—a section that must be indeed worth the price of the entire book—"What to Do on Social Engagements."

Dr. Friedman might have broadened his audience still more by entitling his study *How Sex Can Keep You Slim and Make You a Millionaire in Just Twelve Months,* but he is perhaps reserving that for the sequel, which he may well be in an authoritative position to write. Lincoln's doctor was wasting his time with that dog.

SITTING IT OUT

JIM CLARK

Senate Press Gallery

In a room off the Senate chamber, Sen. Harold Hughes (D., Iowa) discussed the McGovern campaign in his Chautauqua tent-preacher's voice. "They call you late in the afternoon and want you to make a speech in Reading, Pa. the next morning; how can they expect to get anything done."

Upstairs in the press gallery, Sen. Hugh Scott (R., Pa.) was talking with reporters. Supposedly he was there to answer questions, but since there were none, the minority leader used the occasion to mention that Sen. George McGovern's campaign had the backing of twenty-nine millionaires (Scott wasn't sure how many the Republicans had) and to take some swipes at Sargent Shriver.

The Republicans are using their Senators as what the White House likes to call surrogate campaigners for the President. The McGovern forces, in a display that has become all too typical, are failing to use Democratic Senators to any noticeable advantage. The situation was illustrated in mid-August when news broke that Pierre Salinger had gone to Paris, ostensibly for McGovern, to negotiate with the North Vietnamese. That night on the evening news McGovern, surrounded by pushing, shoving reporters in the lobby of the St. Nicholas Hotel in Springfield, Ill., defended the trip. This scene was followed by a series of brief statements from Republicans, including Sens. Gordon Allott and John Tower, blasting McGovern's actions. No Democratic Senators appeared to support their candidate.

Half of the Democratic Senators, mostly Southerners, want no part of McGovern. Sen. Ernest Hollings of South Carolina told reporters at the Democratic convention that he had no intention of sitting on his hands and promised to work for the McGovern ticket. Hollings then returned home for two weeks, talked with voters, and quickly joined the hand-sitters. William Spong, a moderate liberal up for re-election in Virginia, has dissociated himself from the national ticket. Not surprisingly, John Sparkman in Alabama has been running away from the ticket.

But none of that explains the absence of Democratic liberals. Most noticeable among the missing is Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, who stood on the podium in Miami Beach with McGovern. The Democratic leadership, Mike Mansfield and Robert Byrd, plead Senate business.

For their part, McGovern campaign leaders have done little to mobilize the Senators. Their attempts to date con-

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sist largely of receiving invitations and asking Senators to fill them. There has been no attempt to match the GOP policy of sending Senators on nationwide tours in key areas where their help is needed. Some Republican Senators will appear in as many as twenty-five states before Election Day. The White House uses the promise of future favors to lure its Senators out onto the campaign trail.

The problem for McGovern is that he trails so badly in the public opinion polls that Senators see no reason to go out on their own to campaign for what most think will be a losing effort. In 1968 it was not until the final weeks of the campaign, when Hubert Humphrey's friends in the Senate saw the gap narrowing, that they began to work for the national ticket. There are theories that some Senators, anticipating a McGovern disaster, hope to pick up the pieces, come 1976.

The most painful absence of Democratic Senators is felt in specific areas of public interest. When McGovern criticizes the Administration's farm policy he is met head-on by Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz and at least one Republican Senator. No Democratic Senators wait in the wings to support the party nominee.

Men like William Proxmire and Gale McGee say they plan some campaigning in their home states—time permitting—but point to Senate business or tough local races as reasons for no more direct involvement. The presence of Senators Kennedy, Muskie and Humphrey boosts crowds for McGovern, but they could certainly be more useful campaigning where the candidate is not.

There are some Democratic Senators who have not yet even been asked to lend a hand. An official at the campaign headquarters says they really don't know if Lloyd Bentsen of Texas or Lawton Chiles of Florida is for or against McGovern.

It can be assumed that after the Senate adjourns some Senators will begin working full time for the ticket. But adjournment may not come until mid-October, too late for them to do any good. House Republican leader Gerald Ford may be right when he says that the Democrats want to stay in Washington so they won't have to go home and talk about George McGovern.

ARCTIC PIPELINE

Known Problems & Unknown Effects

QUINCY DADISMAN
Mr. Dadisman writes on environmental subjects for the Milwaukee Sentinel.

The United States used 22.1 trillion cubic feet of natural gas last year. Proven domestic reserves are down to 247 trillion cubic feet, less than ten years' supply, assuming only moderate expansion of use. Most of the easy-to-get-at gas in the United States is gone and new exploration is both expensive and chancy. Gas can be manufactured, but that is expensive. Possible raw materials include coal (technology perfected, but it is air polluting) or garbage (technology incomplete, but inviting as a solution in two or three decades).

Thirteen trillion cubic feet of natural gas are known to be under the Canadian Arctic near the mouth of the Mackenzie River, and probably ten to forty times that much is still to be discovered on the mainland and among the Arctic islands. The oil at Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, is associated with at least 26 trillion cubic feet of gas and possibly up to 65 trillion cubic feet, and the Prudhoe Bay field is only a relatively small part of the area of Alaska where gas and oil are likely to occur.

Gas can be transported in several ways. The cheapest, easiest and safest way is by pipeline. It can also be liquefied under high pressure and hauled in refrigerated ships. A few such ships exist; a few have disappeared on the high seas. Mariners point out that a cargo of refrigerated gas is highly explosive. Either method of shipment could be used to get Alaska's gas to the United States. It could be piped across Alaska to the south coast where it would be compressed, liquefied and hauled by refrigerator ship to a West Coast port, there to be released into a pipeline for shipment across the continent. Or it could be sent directly by pipeline connections across Canada to the Midwest. The gas pipeline across Canada is obviously the simpler solution. That is why a gas pipeline across Canada is almost certain to be built, regardless of how the dispute over the trans-Alaska oil pipeline turns out.

And why some environmentalists are beginning to feel that, somehow, they've been had. Some suspect that the fight the oil companies have been making for the trans-Alaska route is a tactical move—that the producers' grand strategy calls for the oil to follow the same route as the gas. The producers, they believe, are getting ready to say, "O.K. We won't build the Alaska pipeline. We're ready to compromise on a route across Canada."

Many environmentalists would consider that a victory. Others are unwilling to accept any route for a pipeline across the Arctic wilderness, whether in Alaska or Canada. Any route, they argue, will cause irreversible damage to an ecosystem so fragile that building the pipeline would scar the North a millennium in the future. Two Canadian combines—Gas Arctic Study Group and Northwest Project Study Group—have spent several millions of dollars in the last three years on studies aimed at finding ways to build in the Arctic and prove the worriers wrong.

Three kinds of environmental problem face any construction "north of 60" (the 60th parallel on the northern border of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba) where the Arctic is generally conceded to begin: the effect of construction on the land itself; the effect of both construction and operation of

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the project amid the teeming wildlife of the North; and the effect of possible accidents after construction is completed.

The key to the consequences of construction in the Arctic is the make-up of the ground. Half or more of North America north of 60° is really a mixture of soil and water, with water making up as much as 80 per cent of the mix in some areas. Topsoil in the northern parts of the continental United States freezes during the winter, but is underlain by unfrozen ground through which water can still move. That subsoil has been thoroughly compacted by the moving water so that it forms a stable base for all but the heaviest construction.

Building a pipeline in such soil requires removal of the topsoil, placing a gravel base on the subsoil to provide drainage, setting the pipe and covering it with topsoil, seeding the surface and watching it return to something similar to the surrounding terrain. "North of 60," also, the topsoil freezes every winter, thaws every spring, but there it is underlain by permafrost, which often includes huge blocks of primeval ice that never melts, linked by smaller bits of ice, sand, rock and silt, frozen perpetually into a rock-hard subsoil.

That subsoil, too, offers a good base for construction, if it can be kept frozen. Homes in the Arctic are built on pilings so the air can pass under them and keep the ground from melting. Setting the foundation is relatively simple: A hole is drilled through the topsoil into the permafrost, a piling is placed and held upright while a slurry of water and crushed stone is poured around it. It freezes solid, forming a sturdy foundation for conventional construction atop it.

Building roads isn't too difficult. Topsoil is stripped away, a gravel pad is placed, and the road surfaced. The road stays put because the surface freezes and thaws with the topsoil, but the permafrost below is insulated from the air and remains frozen.

But building a home directly on the permafrost would be folly. Heat would seep through the flooring, melting the ground below, and the house would slowly drop out of sight. (One small Arctic community, Aklavik, Northwest Territories, was abandoned as a district headquarters because accumulated heat was melting the permafrost and the village was sinking into the ground.)

Building a pipeline offers a similar problem. Oil or gas is hot—150 degrees or warmer—as it comes from the ground. When it coursed through the pipeline, the oil or gas would give up that heat, the pipe would slowly sink deeper and deeper into the permafrost, floating on the water as it melted the ice in the soil. Eventually, it would pop through the surface soil covering the pipe in low areas, sag and break as the water seeped away in higher areas.

The two study groups say they've conquered those problems for gas pipelines. Essentially, their idea is to chill the gas—no hard job in the 60-below-zero weather common in the Mackenzie valley during the months when the most gas is burned—and keep it chilled so that it won't melt the permafrost as it travels south. Construction problems could be met. A road would be snaked across the tundra in midwinter—the only practical construction period in the Arctic, which turns into an immense quagmire in summer—and the pipeline laid beside it. But construction in the bitter cold is never easy. Engines on heavy equipment must be kept running constantly or hours must be spent to restart them. Metal must be handled carefully to avoid frostbite, so everything must be made to be used by a man wearing heavy gloves. In extreme cold, human efficiency drops to less than half what it is in less rigorous weather.

Strangely, the most severe weather the builders would face would be not on the Arctic slope but 700 miles to the south, just north of 60°. Temperatures on the Arctic shore rarely drop lower than the mid-50s below zero. In the center of the continent, far from the sea's tempering effects, it is often 20 degrees colder. And one Arctic veteran said, "Even sled dogs won't work at 70 below."

A gas pipeline would probably be buried in a trench for most of its length, with compressor-cooling stations every 30 to 50 miles to keep the gas cold and moving. After construction, the road would be abandoned and the automated stations would be tended by airborne crews.

River crossings would be the most difficult part of the project because the work would have to be done during the brief, often hot and insect-plagued summer. The pipe would be placed in a trench sliced into the muck, well below the reach of winter ice. Twelve major crossings—a half mile or more—lie across the trans-Canada route. (There's only one on the trans-Alaska oil pipeline route.)

Building an oil pipeline will be still harder. Oil thickens as it cools and even heats up some from the friction of being pushed through the pipe. The oil companies have been testing various kinds of insulation at Prudhoe Bay. Engineers there are proud of one pipe, carrying oil at 180 degrees, which is covered with a 4-inch blanket of insulation. Snow brushed off the pipe a week after it falls is as powdery as that on the ground.

Some of the most telling criticism of pipeline plans has followed publication of pictures showing damage to the tundra from construction activities around Prudhoe Bay. Much of it was simple litter—15,000 to 30,000 oil drums were scattered over the barren landscape—but most resulted from ignorance. One picture, showing bulldozer markings scratched at a fuel cache, has been especially embarrassing to knowledgeable engineers. The scratches, made in 1968, barely penetrated the thin grass and wildflower cover of the soil. But they let the sun's heat penetrate, permafrost melted, and the marks are now ditches 6 feet deep.

The scattered oil drums, worth $8 each at dockside in California, are being recovered by crews using huge machines that avoid damage to the tundra by stepping lightly across the summer bog on immense rollers. It has cost about $15 a drum to pick up the several thousand now piled at the dock at Prudhoe Bay and will cost another $5 a drum to get them back to California. Engineers planning the pipeline say construction "doesn't have to be messy if the people in charge make it clear that they won't tolerate sloppiness."

Some critics believe revegetation of the pipeline route is going to be harder than the pipeline planners think. Because the permanently frozen subsoil is so near the surface, woody plants grow very slowly in the Arctic—

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tree roots are constantly chilled, can penetrate only a few inches into the ground, are able to reach only a limited amount of water. Pine trees 200 years old may be only a couple of inches in diameter and only 12 to 15 feet tall. A flying traveler on his first visit to the Arctic is startled by the long, straight lines he sees stretching across the forests from northern Alberta to the ocean. The lines are 10-foot-wide strips cut through the woods by seismic exploration crews working out the geology of the North. Some are already forty to fifty years old.

Distinct species of grasses and wildflowers have evolved in the Arctic. However, they're related to species found further south, and botanists working with the planners say the Arctic varieties will respond to fertilizer much as their Southern relatives do. But even under the best conditions a scar will show for centuries.

The effect of the pipeline on wildlife, both during and after construction, is much harder to gauge. Caribou range across both pipeline routes. It is a migratory species that winters inland but comes to more open areas at calving time in the spring. Caribou wander around Prudhoe Bay operations during spring and summer and seem, according to workmen on the scene, little troubled by the noise of men and machines. But no one is sure how they would react to construction machinery charging over the tundra or through the woods. Their migration time varies a great deal, too, but the planners say they would watch closely and stop operations when the caribou began to move.

The reaction of the caribou to a completed pipeline is another unknown. Farther south, whitetail deer follow pipeline clearings for a mile or so, then leave to go about their business of finding food. But whitetails are nonmigratory and some ecologists say the pipeline scar could upset caribou migration. A pipeline on high stilts, they say, could appear to the caribou as tree trunks, but one on low stilts would almost certainly be a barrier.

Tests are being made this year with strips of snow fence stretched through the woods, and with high-level wires holding fluttering rags along the seismic exploration lanes, to see how migrating caribou react. Similar studies last year were thought inconclusive.

Another species whose response to the pipeline will be critical is the Barren Grounds grizzly bear. The bears, bigger, grumpier relatives of the grizzly of the Western states, are scattered across northern Alaska and the northern Yukon, with a few living in the Northwest Territories. The key to their response is the denning areas where they sleep away most of the winter and the cubs are born. Suitable den caves are rare, and a major attempt was made to find and map them last fall and this spring, so that the pipeline could be routed away from the bears.

Black bears are considered almost a nuisance in much of the area crossed by the pipeline route. Their usual response to pipelines farther south has been to ignore them, although they will, at times, move along the pipeline clearing. There is a small herd of musk oxen in northern Yukon, but their range is well away from the pipeline routes. Wolves and foxes are expected to use the opening formed by the pipeline clearing as a hunting ground for lemmings, rabbits and other small game on which they prey.

Gravel beds in North slope streams are spawning sites for many seagoing fish that ascend fresh-water streams to lay their eggs. Pipeline planners say that when they drop the pipe into the mud bottoms they will take care not to allow silt to pour down onto the gravel beds. Environmentalists are skeptical.

Another big question is the effect of the pipeline on waterfowl. If the line follows the coastal plain from Prudhoe Bay to the mouth of the Mackenzie, it will cross the Arctic Wildlife Refuge in Alaska and a similar refuge just proclaimed on the Canadian side of the border. The refuges are one of the principal waterfowl production areas of the continent with millions of ducks, geese and rarer birds nesting there. If it goes inland into the Brooks Range—a route the engineers show some preference for because construction might be easier in the rock than in permafrost—it would avoid the waterfowl nesting zone.

The pipeline route itself would have little effect on the birds, ecologists say, but the noise of the compressor and oil pumps—if an oil pipeline follows that route—and of the bustling aircraft supplying the stations, might disturb the birds. Records of compressor-station noises, amplified to twice the level of actual operations, were playing continuously at several spots in the Arctic this past summer to gauge the reaction not only of the birds but of other animals, too. Workmen at Prudhoe Bay say waterfowl nested last year in the shadows of working oil drills and many were so tame their waddling progress across roads often delayed trucks.

The species that would be affected most is man. The entire Northwest Territories, an area more than half the size of the forty-eight states, has fewer than 30,000 inhabitants, most of them concentrated around Great Slave Lake. Only a few dozen live in the 400 miles between Prudhoe Bay and Fort McPherson where the line from Alaska would join the all-Canadian portion of the pipeline.

Most of them are Eskimos, still living, in some ways, as their forefathers did, but eager for the amenities of life they know exist farther south. On both sides of the border, government will insist that "locals" be hired wherever possible to work on construction. Wages will have to be very high to attract workers into the bitter weather and "locals" will therefore receive relatively high wages. The cash will buy snowmobiles, television sets, clothing, pay for trips "outside," set up new and higher standards of living. The people of the North will be unwilling to return to the endemic poverty in which they now live, once the free-spending construction firms leave.

Roads are beginning to reach deep into the Arctic. Winter routes now link Prudhoe Bay with Livengood and the Mackenzie valley villages with the South. The oil companies propose to build and turn over to the state an all-weather road from Livengood to Prudhoe Bay. The Dempster Highway, linking the Yukon road system to the Arctic at Inuvik, probably will be completed this year or next, so the old isolation will be gone in any event. But it will be a long time before enough tourists

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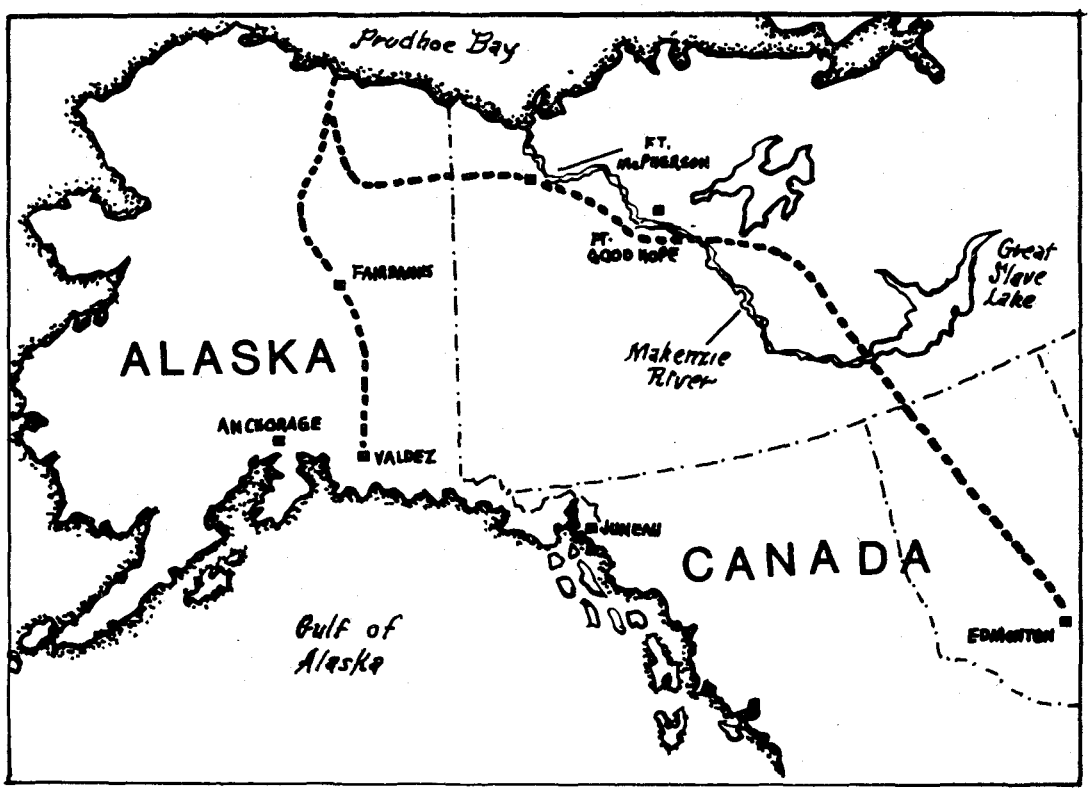

venture that far north to take up the slack left when the pipeline is completed.

Native claims to the land have been settled, more or less, in Alaska. Canada still has to negotiate a settlement with the Eskimos and Indians of the Northwest. The latter say they're going to be hard to deal with, demanding as good a settlement as was reached in Alaska.

Most of the objections environmentalists raise to the pipelines center on the possibilities of accidents after operation begins. A break in the gas pipeline probably would not have a serious environmental effect unless a fire resulted. The gas would dissipate and, once repairs to the pipe were completed, the surroundings would be much as they had been.

The oil line is another story. Any spill in the Arctic would spew thick, black crude over the landscape, killing almost everything it touched. In milder climates, a spill is a disaster that persists for months; in the Arctic, it could last for centuries. Many of the usual methods of cleaning up a spill would not work in sub-zero weather. Operations might have to await the spring breakup, with the ever present threat of a sudden change in the weather floating the oil away to damage wide areas. The microorganisms that remove the last traces of an oil spill work only in warm weather. Summer is only six weeks long in parts of the North. Alaska south of the Yukon River is one of the world's earthquake centers. The companies say they have designed an earthquake-proof pipeline. Environmentalists say that's impossible. The trans-Canada pipeline corridor avoids earthquake zones.

Valdez—where the 789-mile trans-Alaska line would end—is at the head of a narrow fjord. Handling big ships could be very difficult, especially in the heavy snowstorms for which Valdez is noted. The oil men say the latest in marine engineering would go into their ships and that it is unfair to compare them with the older, less well-engineered tankers operating in other parts of the world.

The route from Valdez to the West Coast parallels one of the most rugged shorelines on earth. This worries many Canadians because accidents would soak British Columbia beaches with oil. A tanker route across the Arctic Ocean was ruled out after the *Manhattan*'s trip through the Northwest Passage. It just isn't practical with today's technology. The Bering Sea route is four times as long as the Valdez-West Coast route and just as difficult most of the year as the *Manhattan*'s route.

Alaska has told the oil companies it will not allow gas to be wasted in the process of getting out the North slope oil, so oil production on any large scale depends on the gas being used. (A tiny refinery is now operating at Prudhoe Bay, producing a low-grade gasoline for use there. The gas is carefully pumped back into the ground, but that would be impossible in large-scale production.) Canada is just as adamant against wasting the gas in the Mackenzie delta. Therefore, getting the oil out depends on saving and shipping the gas. The Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has said several times that it is willing to consider only one main corridor for a pipeline—gas and oil must follow the same route if they move across Canada.

The trans-Alaska route would be an all-American route with financing immediately available. It could be in operation three years after final approval. The pipe, made in Japan, is already in Alaska. Projected completion dates, say conservationists, are 1977 across Alaska; 1980 across Canada.

A trans-Canada route, reaching 2,500 miles from

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Prudhoe Bay to Emerson, Manitoba, is the most expensive private construction project ever proposed. It has been estimated at $5 billion, a figure that could thoroughly shake the Canadian money market, and has stirred up the nationalist element in eastern Canada to demand that it be financed only with Canadian money. Complicating that issue are Canadian fears about challenges to their sovereignty in the Arctic islands, voiced after the voyage of the *Manhattan*—an issue that also builds pressure for development of the North. In western, oil-conscious Canada, I heard it said that "development is inevitable; better it be American-financed than with German or Japanese money."

Some opponents of the project have been puzzled by the Nixon Administration's insistence that the trans-Alaska route is necessary for American "security." They point out that the United States and Canada are so closely linked already that the security of each is dependent on the other. A few ask, "Is that oil really for Japan?," noting that it is only half as far from Valdez to Tokyo Bay as it is from the Persian Gulf, Japan's current oil source, to Tokyo. □

CENSORSHIP BY TAXATION

NEW MUZZLE FOR CHURCHMEN

JOSEPH A. RUSKAY
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The Rev. Billy Graham is frequently photographed with President Nixon and his family at the White House, where he seems to occupy the position of unofficial chaplain. The fact that Billy Graham preaches a spiritual pablum which carefully avoids mention of meaningful social and political problems makes him the more acceptable to the White House public relations people, who seek to project the President as the great crusader for peace and to spread the Nixon gospel that all would be right on the American scene if only a few grumblers and malcontents would keep their mouths shut.

But the Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, who, while visiting North Vietnam on behalf of the World Council of Churches, verified that American bombing was endangering that country's intricate dike system, is not likely to be invited to the White House. Indeed there are increasingly disturbing signs that some of the more outspoken churchmen who criticize Nixon's foreign and domestic policies are being pressured into silence by various government agencies, and particularly by the Department of Internal Revenue. Since the beginning of this Administration, the IRS has demonstrated an unprecedented interest in the civil rights, anti-poverty and anti-war activities of certain religious organizations.

Until relatively recent times, and with rare exceptions, church leaders of all denominations have aligned themselves with the conservative forces in government. The hierarchy of the Catholic Church since the Middle Ages, and the leaders of various Protestant denominations since the Reformation, in Europe and later in this country, have traditionally not only supported the Establishment, but frequently have actively cooperated in suppressing political dissenters and social reformers, regarding the threat to established governmental policies as a potential threat to themselves. However, increasingly in recent years, ministers and priests have joined the ranks of political reformers and social critics in the so-called democratic countries, and in countries with dictatorial regimes have lent their support to various shades of revolutionaries. This development has not only often brought them into conflict with their religious superiors but has created resentment among the predominantly conservative lay members of religious groups who feel that pastors and priests should "stick to religion."

In spite of this opposition, more and more rank-and-file clergymen in the United States, and the leadership as well in such influential groups as the National Council of Churches, the Unitarian-Universalist Association, the United Church of Christ, and the Protestant Episcopal Church, have been participating in and even spearheading anti-war, civil rights and anti-poverty activities.

It is one thing for the government to have to contend with public demonstrations led by college students, Vietnamese War veterans, black militants or poor people from Appalachia or other hard-hit areas. They can always be brushed off as fragments of the radical minority. But when protests against the war and poverty in the ghettos are led by clergymen with impeccable credentials they are not so easily dismissed.

According to many observers, within and without church circles, the covert weapon employed by the present government to discourage its critics within the churches is the threat by the IRS to cancel the tax-exempt status of the offending groups—a threat which, if carried out, can destroy them by cutting off their source of funds. Those who contribute funds to churches and their affiliated organizations, or make bequests to them in their wills, rely on the deductibility of these gifts on their income tax returns and of the bequests on their estate tax returns.

Although church leaders generally are reluctant to voice their suspicions of the motives of the Administration, Dean M. Kelley of the National Council of Churches, has not hesitated to speak of a "vendetta" by the IRS against the churches; and the 17-page report released on December 8, 1971 by the Guild of St. Ives, affiliated with the New York Diocese of the Episcopal Church, states:

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"There are indications that within the last two years the Internal Revenue Service has been investigating and, it is feared, attempting to restrict certain 'political' activities of churches and associations of churches."

Under the Internal Revenue Code no "substantial part" of the program of any tax-exempt organization may be used for "carrying on propaganda or attempting to influence legislation" or for supporting individuals in political elections. It is on the pretext that they are violating this provision of the code that the IRS is investigating an increasing number of church groups, warning them that their "political" activities if not curtailed will lose them their tax exemption.

For example, the IRS has been engaged in what it euphemistically calls a "routine audit" of the records of the National Council of Churches, which represents thirty Christian denominations, to determine the extent to which that organization has been involved in "political" and "social" activities (it may be no more than coincidence that the opposition of the National Council to the Anti-Ballistic Missile program raised the hackles of a number of conservative Congressmen); it has advised the Episcopal Church that the proposed use of a certain contribution for a student political education program would "jeopardize" its tax-exempt privilege; it has investigated the use of space in the Trinity Episcopal Church of Melrose, Mass. by a student peace group, warning that such use would endanger the church's exempt status; and has attempted to investigate the alleged "political" activities of the California Migrant Ministry and the Florida Migrant Ministry, both of which have been outspoken in their support of the United Farm Workers Union and Cesar Chavez. The Inter-religious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) and the many black, Chicano and native American groups to which it contributes funds were subjected to an eighteen-month audit by federal tax agents; and five other church groups (the National Council of Churches, the United Church of Christ, the Episcopal Church, the Disciples of Christ, and a division of the United Methodist Church) have been asked by the IRS if they have made grants to the Black United Front of Cairo, Ill. All have declined to comply with the request, and it remains to be seen whether the government will seek to extract the information by force of subpoenas.

The legal basis for this alarming intrusion of the government in church affairs is dubious at best. The Treasury's own regulations, interpreting Sec. 501 (c)(3) of the IRC and defining "charitable" activities which are permissible, include at least some of the activities which the IRS is trying to suppress. The regulations include as permissible "charitable" activities:

> Relief of the poor and distressed or of the underprivileged.
> Advancement of religion, advancement of education or science.
> Erection or maintenance of public buildings, monuments or works.
> Lessening of the burdens of government; and
> Promotion of social welfare by organizations designed to accomplish any of the above purposes, or
> (*1*) to lessen neighborhood tensions;
> (*2*) to eliminate prejudice and discrimination;
> (*3*) to defend human and civil rights secured by law;
> (*4*) to combat community deterioration and juvenile delinquency.
>
> • • •
>
> The fact that an organization, in carrying out its primary purpose, advocates social or civic changes or presents opinion on controversial issues with the intent of molding public opinion or creating public sentiment to an acceptance of its views does not [disqualify an organization of exemption].

In some cases church groups suspected of "excessive" political activity, after extensive audits by the IRS, have been allowed to keep their tax exemption despite certain "objectionable activities," on condition that they would go and sin no more. Others have been less fortunate. The Christian Action Council of South Carolina lost its religious tax exemption in 1970 and was required to pay retroactively taxes on its executive's salary, on the ground that he was not engaged in religious activity. The YWCA of Wilmington, Del., a "public charity" under the terms of the Internal Revenue Code, lost its tax exemption on the ground that its activities included attempts to influence "legislation"; and the Church of Scientology in California, which claims a membership of 3 million in the United States and which strongly supports involvement by church groups in political and social affairs, was deprived of its tax-exempt status several years ago.

Last January a California settlement house operated by a church mission was advised that if it continued to allow its facilities to be used by the Congress of Mexican-American Unity, a civil rights organization, whose purposes included the selection and endorsement of political candidates and adopting a program of "community development" among Chicanos, it would lose its tax-exempt status. Both the United Church of Christ and the National Council of Churches were warned not to try to testify before a Senate subcommittee with respect to legislation both churches opposed on pain of suffering loss of their tax exemption.

A glaring example of the Administration's efforts to silence political protest by progressive church groups took place in Boston in the fall of 1971 when Dr. Robert N. West, president of the Unitarian-Universalist Association, received a telephone call from the New England Merchants National Bank informing him that some time before, members of the FBI had appeared at the bank armed with a grand jury subpoena calling for the production of all of the church's financial records, including all checks written or deposited between June 1 and October 15, 1971; and that the bank, without even notifying its depositor, had simply handed the records over to the government sleuths.

The FBI investigation, which the church is vigorously challenging in the courts, was prompted by the fact that Beacon Press, a nonprofit publishing house supported by the church group, had published *The Pentagon Papers*, as released by Sen. Mike Gravel the previous June.

Representatives of the National Council of Churches and of the Synagogue Council of America joined in a complaint to President Nixon about this violation of the First Amendment, saying:

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We find intolerable the Government's overbroad and unparticularized use of its subpoena powers in a general search of all this church's financial records for a substantial period of time. We believe it can only have a chilling effect on the free exercise of a religion, as well as upon the other great freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment. . . .

We reject the contention that the government is dealing not with this church's religious activities but with its "political" activities. There is no political issue that does not have a potential moral dimension, and no moral issue that does not have a potential political dimension. Neither our faith nor the Constitution will permit our religious institutions to yield to any government agency the power to determine the definition or the limits of religious activity. . . .

We therefore call upon the President to end the current punitive aspects of the investigation of the Unitarian-Universalist Association, and to exercise the vigilance of his office to prevent such infringements of religious liberty in the future.

A spokesman for the U.S. Catholic Conference expressed that organization's concern about the possible violation of religious liberty posed by the government's subpoena, and offered the services of its own general counsel to consult with the attorneys for the Unitarian-Universalist Association.

On July 24, the last of the temporary court stays of the FBI's activities at the bank expired after the Supreme Court ruled 5 to 4 against a permanent injunction. Accordingly the Justice Department is now free to require representatives of the Beacon Press and of the Universalist Church to appear before a federal grand jury which is considering criminal charges against them. The government is using the grand jury process to harass, intimidate, and restrict the dissemination of the Pentagon Papers, although they were already in the public domain, because the present Administration doesn't want any broader circulation of this "controversial" material.

Those who support the Administration's efforts to keep the church and its leaders from concerning themselves with anti-war, civil rights, poverty and other "controversial" subjects, claim that if a religious organization chooses to participate fully in civic affairs it is engaging in "legislative activity," and therefore should be deprived of its tax exemption as a religious or charitable institution.

But this notion is historically without foundation. The occasion when Congress placed a limitation on substantial legislative activity by public charities arose in 1934 when Sen. David A. Reed of Pennsylvania, in offering an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code, emphasized that the sole purpose of his amendment was to insure that a contribution to a charity would not be deductible for tax purposes "if it is a selfish one made to advance the personal interest of the giver of money." His amendment, Senator Reed added, was not intended to "apply to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children . . . or any of the worthy institutions that we do not in the slightest mean to affect"—namely genuine public charities.

The 1934 limitation on "lobbying" permits religious groups to devote part of their activities to influencing legislation, provided they are "insubstantial" when compared to the overall activities of the organizations. The fact that no tax official or court has ever defined "substantial" makes it easier for a Treasury official to decide that a particular church body has overstepped the boundary.

In 1954 a second limitation was added to the code placing an absolute prohibition on any participation or intervention by any religious organization in "any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office." And recently Rep. John R. Rarick, (D., La.) introduced a bill in Congress that would eliminate the "substantial" qualification entirely with respect to lobbying activities. It would flatly prohibit any legislative activity by religious, charitable or other exempt organizations. In offering his bill the Congressman made no secret of the fact that the activities of the National Council of Churches were a prime target.

Most churchmen insist that involvement in the social and political problems of the nation and the community that have moral implications is part of their religious "mission" and responsibility. Furthermore their involvement doesn't constitute a "substantial" involvement. At most, leaders of the National Council of Churches say, these "political activities constitute about 3.5 per cent of their total programs, a minuscule amount. Dean M. Kelley says the council should be much more involved in such activities than it already is.

Other critics of the hard government attitude point out that the tax code speaks of influencing legislation and not of "political activities"; that the churches rarely support or oppose specific bills; that rather their main concern is to take stands on public issues such as war, poverty, welfare, civil rights and ecology, in general terms. In short, they say that the IRS is deliberately interpreting the tax code more broadly than the statute or regulations authorize.

While the government thus stretches the tax laws to prevent civic-minded clergymen from expressing themselves on crucial issues affecting all citizens, those same laws permit giant corporations unlimited tax deductibility for lobbying for their private interests. As a result, the manufacturers of guns, bombers and napalm can deduct the cost of urging Congress to escalate government arms purchases as business expenses; whereas the churches, when they seek to remind the government and the public of the Biblical injunction, "Thou shalt not kill," do so at the risk of losing their tax-exempt status. As Edgar May, formerly with the Office of Economic Opportunity and now a consultant to the Ford Foundation, put it: "If an army of persuaders can be unleashed to convince the government to bail out Lockheed, so should an army of the prominent and eminent who make up the boards of [charitable] agencies in this city be permitted to be unleashed against those who delay and obstruct social change which is overdue."

A bill proposed by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie and twenty-four other sponsors would remedy this anomaly by permitting religious and charitable groups to communicate their concerns to federal and state legislators, as well as to their own membership, without being

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threatened by the IRS. Not only should such legislation in behalf of lobbying for the public interest be adopted but profit-motivated lobbying by the business community should be discouraged by repealing that section of the IRC which permits private concerns to list such expenses for tax purposes as part of their ordinary cost of doing business.

The crux of the matter is that the threats by the government to deprive church leaders and their followers of their traditional tax exemption unless they abandon their right to speak out individually and collectively on matters of wide public concern, is a clear abridgment of First Amendment guarantees, to all citizens, of freedom of religion, speech, press and assembly, including the right to petition the government for redress of grievances. There is nothing in these fundamental constitutional guarantees which intimates that citizens forfeit these rights if they act collectively through public-interest organizations which are exempt from taxation. The "political" activity restrictions which have been imposed on religious tax exemption, in the opinion of most constitutional lawyers, are tantamount to an improper prohibition of, and penalty imposed on, the efforts of the churches to carry out their religious mission when that mission touches on an area which the government chooses to call "political."

The fact is that the various traditional social-welfare agencies established by the churches to help the sick, the poor and the handicapped, although they have served their purpose effectively in the past, no longer suffice. Gradually these agencies have come to recognize that their efforts in the form of direct aid and services to the poor, needy and sick do little more than provide Band Aids for the hurts inflicted by society. Now the churches must help bring about changes in society to eliminate the conditions which made such direct aids necessary; and to do this they must be concerned with legislation because most public policy is determined by legislation.

Ironically, the case that will probably come before the Supreme Court and which will determine whether the government, via the IRS or the FBI, can deprive churches of their traditional tax exemption for excessive "political" activities, involves an extreme right-wing organization, the Christian Echoes National Ministry, presided over by the Oklahoma conservative evangelist Billie James Hargis, who heads the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade. Hargis and his followers have consistently opposed the National Council of Churches as too liberal, but the National Council will join in defending the Hargis organization's right to express its opinions however distasteful they may be. Hargis' religious group lost its tax exemption in the late 1960s because the IRS determined that its political activities, which included vigorous support of legislation that would have permitted religious prayers and Bible reading in the public schools, were "substantial."

The importance of this Supreme Court case can hardly be exaggerated. It may decide whether or not in the words of Frank Patton, Jr., a member of the Episcopalian Guild of St. Ives, "the church as an independent voice in this pluralistic society will soon be terminated." □

NORTHERN IRELAND

THE IMPLACABLE TERRORISM

ANDREW BOYD
Mr. Boyd, a frequent contributor, is the author of Holy War in Belfast, *which has recently been published here by Grove Press. His newest book is* The Rise of the Irish Trade Unions, 1729-1970, *issued by Anvil Books, Dublin.*

Belfast

When the Stormont parliament and government, being subordinate to the British House of Commons, were suspended for one year until March 1973 the Catholics in Northern Ireland were greatly relieved, if not indeed overjoyed. They saw suspension as ending the power of those politicians who had been their enemies and oppressors for fifty years. With no Stormont under the thumb of the Unionist Party and the Orange Order, they felt they would be quickly granted the civil rights to which they were entitled. They hoped that direct rule from London would continue and that Stormont would never be reconstituted.

Their hopes, however, were soon dashed. The official IRA ended its military campaign when Stormont was suspended. But British Prime Minister Edward Heath had scarcely finished the speech in which he announced the suspension of Stormont when Sean MacStiophain, the chief of staff of the Provisional IRA in Dublin, stated that "nothing had changed." Ignoring the views of Republican leaders in Ulster, he called on his followers to continue their military activities and to remember that the British were the main enemy.

Within a few hours of MacStiophain's rejection of direct rule, several people were killed in explosions, or by the British Army, or in cross fire between the British and the IRA. The Catholic ghettos of West Belfast, the Creggan and the Bogside in Derry all remained "no-go" areas into which neither the British Army nor the Royal Ulster Constabulary could penetrate. By the end of August, five months after the suspension of Stormont, nearly 200 people had been killed—in addition to the 300 killed from August 1969 until March 1972. Many of them were murdered by assassination gangs, whose toll of innocent victims has been mounting day by day.

Between March and July at least sixty people had been murdered by these gangs. Many of them were Catholics whose deaths were undoubtedly in reprisal for

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the activities of the IRA; some were Protestants, killed for associating with Catholics. In retaliation, the Republicans have assassinated some leading members of the militant Protestant organizations. The less terroristic Catholics have accused the authorities in Northern Ireland of actually condoning the murder of the Catholics. A statement issued by the Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Association on July 26 accused the authorities of "not making a real effort to track down the assassins." CESA also alleged that, while the British Army has saturated Catholic districts in its searches for guns and Republican activists, it has not searched for illegally held arms in those Protestant areas where the bodies of many of the murdered people have been found. CESA has also accused the British Army of terrorizing young Catholic prisoners by threatening to release them in Protestant districts where the murder gangs are known to be operating, and has asked: "Were some of those assassinated in police or army custody immediately before they were murdered?"

Most Catholics in Northern Ireland were aghast at MacStiophain's precipitate rejection of direct rule. They concluded that neither he nor his aides knew anything about the internal politics of the North and did not appreciate the significance of the suspension of Stormont. MacStiophain's announcement has since been seen as a blunder which has halted progress toward a political settlement and has lost the Provisional IRA much credibility. From a political point of view, apart from any so-called military considerations that might have influenced MacStiophain and his staff, the decision to carry on activities after the suspension of Stormont was ill advised. Unlike the original Irish Republican Army of the 1920-22 years, the IRA of today seems unaware that guerrilla operations are pointless unless directed toward a defined and attainable political objective. And it is not clear what the political objectives of the Provisional IRA really are. Its terms for a cease-fire vary from the release of the men held in internment under the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act and an amnesty for all convicted political offenders to the withdrawal of all British forces from Northern Ireland and the reunification of Ireland.

The first of these are short-term objectives which, under certain circumstances, the British would be willing to agree to. The withdrawal of the British from Northern Ireland and the reunification of the country raise immeasurably more complex problems. William Whitelaw, the Secretary of State whom Edward Heath has appointed to administer Northern Ireland, has said that the release of the internees and amnesty for political offenders depend upon the Provisional IRA's willingness to cease its military campaign. Following the Official IRA's withdrawal from the conflict, he has released all the interned members of that organization. The Provisional IRA (it broke from the official body in the autumn of 1969) refused to accept Whitelaw's terms, and thus raised the suspicion that MacStiophain and his colleagues do not want to see the end of internment. While internment lasts it embarrasses the British abroad and so makes excellent Republican propaganda. It also prevents the participation of nonviolent Catholic representatives, such as the Nationalist MPs and the Social Democratic/Labour Party, in all-party talks that might lead to a political settlement.

The ultimate demands of the Provisional IRA, viz., the withdrawal of the British and the reunification of Ireland, ignore the numerous forces which are preventing reunification—and the least of these forces, despite England's history in Ireland, would probably be the British. The British have nothing to gain from remaining in Ireland. They are probably more eager than the government in Dublin for an end to the border problem. Dublin has, by its far from clear attitude toward national reunification, created a mood of widespread confusion and apathy among the people in the Republic. Yet it is upon the Republic that the historic responsibility for ending the partition really lies.

The government in Dublin, lead by Jack Lynch, has shown a marked determination not to become embroiled in the Northern conflict. Lynch has done everything possible to confine hostilities to the North. He clearly dreads the all-Ireland civil war which, as the Provisional IRA must know, would inevitably follow a British withdrawal and which present IRA tactics may be designed to hasten. Lynch's strategy, successful so far, has been supported by the Irish Labour Party and by the right-wing Fine Gael Party. It has also been alleged that the South was willing to pay the IRA quite handsomely if the trouble were kept on the Northern side of the border. The sum of £200,000 is mentioned in the *Sunday Times* book *Ulster* as having been offered to enable the IRA to set up a separate command in Northern Ireland.

Lynch's play for neutrality is understandable since his part of Ireland has, in recent years, settled down in bourgeois comfort and is mainly concerned about its forthcoming acceptance into the European Economic Community. He has told the British that Northern Ireland is *their* problem and that it is *their* responsibility to solve it; the British, in turn, have been told by Brussels that they cannot bring the Northern Ireland conflict into the Common Market. Lynch puts little or no emphasis on his claim that the Dublin government should be represented at whatever political conference will eventually discuss a Northern settlement, and he carries lightly his assumed responsibility as "Second guarantor" for the civil rights, safety and welfare of the Northern Catholics. In any case, even if he were a militant anti-partitionist, there are innumerable reasons—social, economic, political and cultural—why the Republic of Ireland does not want to be saddled with the immense problem of Northern Ireland. The British created that problem by their endless appeasement of the Ulster Unionists. Lynch would have a strong case against them in the United Nations if they walked out now and left Northern Ireland as the Belgians left Katanga.

The determination not to implicate the Republic of Ireland in the Northern conflict is not confined to Jack Lynch and his colleagues in Dail Eireann. Neither of the two branches of the IRA in the South nor their political associates in the Sinn Fein parties have done

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anything to rouse the people of the Republic in defense of their fellow countrymen north of the border. There has been no mass indignation throughout Ireland at the way in which the British Army has been treating the Catholics. There has, on the contrary, been a very marked tendency on the part of the public in the South to blame the Catholics for their own difficulties because they have not stopped the IRA from operating in their midst. There seems in fact to be agreement among Southern politicians of all parties not to embroil their part of the country in the conflict. And so the Catholics of the North have become mere pawns in the ghastly power game being played by MacStiophain and his army. The campaign of terror and sabotage being waged by that army is leading to greater chaos and suffering.

If the Provisional IRA had accepted the suspension of Stormont as a step toward their objective of a united Ireland they might have been able to claim a major political victory and could have entrenched themselves within the "no-go" areas as a Catholic defense force, while awaiting further moves from the British. Their rejection of direct rule robbed them of the opportunity to enhance their political status in Ireland and abroad. They even missed a second chance in July when they ended a short-lived cease-fire which Whitelaw and his staff had negotiated at some political risk to themselves.

After that, when he saw that there could be no fruitful negotiations with the Provisional leaders, Whitelaw took the offensive. On July 30 the IRA was not in sight when the British Army walked into and occupied the "no-go" areas in Belfast and Derry. The IRA was not, however, defeated. Their retreat was merely tactical. Since the occupation they have continued with even greater ferocity to bomb buildings and harass the British Army. On August 27 Ruairi O. Bradaigh, president of that branch of Sinn Fein which is associated with the Provisionals, said "there would be no end to the campaign until the demands laid down by the leadership of the Republican Movement have been met in full." The IRA will accept no more compromises or half-settlements. The British must concede the unification of Ireland and get out—otherwise there will be no peace.

Meanwhile on the Protestant side some really menacing organizations have appeared, all threatening that if Britain does not restore Stormont with all its old powers they will make Northern Ireland an independent state. That, of course, is what Edward Carson, the Unionist leader threatened in 1912. He said he would set up a Provisional Government for Ulster if Britain persisted in the plan to give Ireland a Home Rule Parliament.

The first Protestant reaction to the suspension of Stormont was the creation of the Ulster Defense Association which now claims to have 50,000 members, all of them, most likely, well armed with the guns which the Stormont government generously allowed its supporters to acquire legally. At first the members of the UDA were masked to conceal their identity. The masks have since been dropped, but UDA men still dress in paramilitary uniforms and parade in defiance of Whitelaw's ban on private armies. The UDA mounts road checks where its members "cooperate" with the British Army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary. The Catholics, with every justification, have accused the police, the Army and Whitelaw himself of being in league with the UDA.

The UDA is linked with Ulster Vanguard, a militant right-wing movement of Unionists that has pushed the official Unionist Party leadership into acceptance of their policy. Ulster Vanguard was formed by William Craig, a former Northern Ireland Cabinet Minister, two months before Stormont was suspended.

The third significant organization in the Unionist alliance is the Loyalist Association of Workers (LAW) which is led by William Hull, a veteran trade unionist in the Belfast shipbuilding industry. LAW has the support of an overwhelming majority of the Protestant industrial workers and can, at short notice, bring the economy of Northern Ireland to a standstill. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions, with which nearly all the unions in Northern Ireland are affiliated, is helpless before LAW and has made only feeble efforts to repudiate Mr. Hull. Indeed the role of ICTU in the Northern Ireland crisis has been appeasement of the Protestant workers. The union leadership refused to associate with the civil rights movement in the comparatively peaceful days of 1968-69. They upheld the Faulkner government, raised no objections when internment without trial was introduced in August 1971, and said nothing when thirteen workers were killed by the British Army in Derry on Bloody Sunday. The attitude of ICTU was correctly summed up by its current president, Stephen MacGonigle, when he said the "trade unions had maintained a balanced position in the Northern conflict." In other words, the working class of Northern Ireland need expect no leadership from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

Mac, London Daily Mail

When Irish Eyes Are Smiling . . .

In the midst of the increasing chaos within Northern Ireland Whitelaw has announced his decision to hold an all-party conference at the end of September. The conference will be confined to representatives of those political parties that had representatives in the Stormont parliament. Those eligible to attend will therefore be: the Unionist Party; the Democratic Unionists (Paisley's group); the Social Democratic/Labour Party; the Na-

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tionalist Party; the Northern Ireland Labour Party; and the Socialist Republican Party. But will the conference ever be held? The Nationalists, Social Democrats and Republican Socialists have all stated that they will not attend unless all the internees are released. Without their participation the conference will be useless, unless, of course, as many people in Northern Ireland are already convinced, the British have a solution all worked out and are holding the conference as a formality. It certainly seems that agreement would be impossible, given the present seemingly irreconcilable views held by the Unionists on the one side and the various parties representing the Catholics on the other. And even if an agreement were reached, or if Whitelaw has a feasible plan, would that satisfy the IRA and persuade them to cease their guerrilla war against the British? □

BLACK STUDENTS

Where Did Their Revolution Go?

J. K. OBATALA
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A tall, muscular figure rose slowly and deliberately from the lunchroom table, his semi-clenched fist wavering anxiously in the dimly lighted space above his head; he motioned as if to place a devastating blow in the attentive face of one of the seated students. From the cashier's booth where I was standing, the vague symmetry of the student's body appeared silhouette-like against the pale white background of the Venetian blinds which concealed the card players from the brightness of the world outside.

Although the near-rhythmic rumble of uninhibited voices which came from the darkened corner had now subsided momentarily, elsewhere in the cafeteria the drone of meal-time chatter continued unbroken: even after the wavering black fist, which had probably held an ace of spades, or perhaps a deuce, came slamming down upon the table with a thunderous crash, evoking jubilant cries of "Boston!, Boston!" from the small cluster of black spectators who had huddled around the table.

To the mass of white students this was—so it must have appeared—simply another game of Afro-American-style Bid Whiz being brought once again to its melodramatic conclusion. But to the small group of Afro-American students who gather in the cafeteria at Cal State, Los Angeles, almost every day, a "Boston" is much more than just a flawless card game. It is something in which to immerse oneself, a social ritual, a "trip" whereby participants try to extricate themselves from the humdrum that has once again become life on the college campus.

To be sure, many blacks on college and university campuses manage to find other equally satisfying diversions. Indeed, the chronic card players represent only a small minority of Afro-American students. Yet their reappearance in the cafeterias and lounges on a regular basis is an important indicator of the state of political affairs among black students. For during the heyday of the black student movement, many of the card players could be seen among the rank and file of the protesters and demonstrators; and it is no accident that this and other forms of black student escapism come at a time when political activism among blacks on campus is at the lowest ebb since its emergence in the early 1960s.

Aside from the resurgence of black student escapism, the most important index of the decline of black political activity on campus is the withering away of many of the once ubiquitous Black Student Unions (BSUs) and the stagnant, almost impotent posture of those which manage to survive. This can be seen not only in the case of Cal State University at Los Angeles, where the Black Student Union has been dissolved, but the same phenomenon is also evident on other campuses throughout Southern California (and perhaps the nation). At Cal State, Dominguez Hills, for example, the once militant BSU is gone and in its place is the "Black Caucus," which is nothing more than a negotiating committee, a black students' version of the NAACP. All is calm at the University of Southern California, while at UCLA, the BSU is still intact but has adopted a relatively moderate program of action, one that resembles liberal Republicanism more than revolutionary change. For example:

> Our direction for the *past quarter and the quarter to come* is towards meeting the educational, social, political, and service needs of black students in relation to self-help and co-ordination. Our programs and projects are designed primarily to service the black family *at UCLA* in the most constructive ways we can. The Black Student Union's programs are: Sickle Cell Anemia; Prison Project; Ethnic Film Series; Black Culture Week. [Emphasis added.]

Thus spoke the chairman of UCLA's BSU in a recent issue of the black student newspaper, *Nommo*. It could very well have been Robert Finch.

Whatever happened to the black campus revolution? Whatever happened to the gun-toting nationalist, the uncombed hair, the demonstrations, the handbills, the placards, the protests, the black leather jackets and Malcolm X sweat shirts that came to be symbols of black student militancy in the 1960s? One answer is, of course, that the "true revolutionaries" have either been killed, jailed, driven underground or just plain suppressed by the forces of law and order. In a few instances, this has indeed been the case.

However, a more realistic explanation would be that there simply never was a "black revolution." There was militancy, as well as anger, hate and racial frustration, but—except for radical rhetoric—never much of a genuine revolutionary conviction on the part of most black stu-

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dents. Ironically, if indeed there had been a meaningful degree of revolutionary commitment and understanding among the black student population, much of the chaos and confusion that was generated out of the black campus rebellion in its later stages might never have occurred. For the mature revolutionary understands that real revolutions aren't made in a day and that violence is an important but not an *all-important* part of revolutionary strategy; that there comes a time in any protracted struggle when thought is much more important than action.

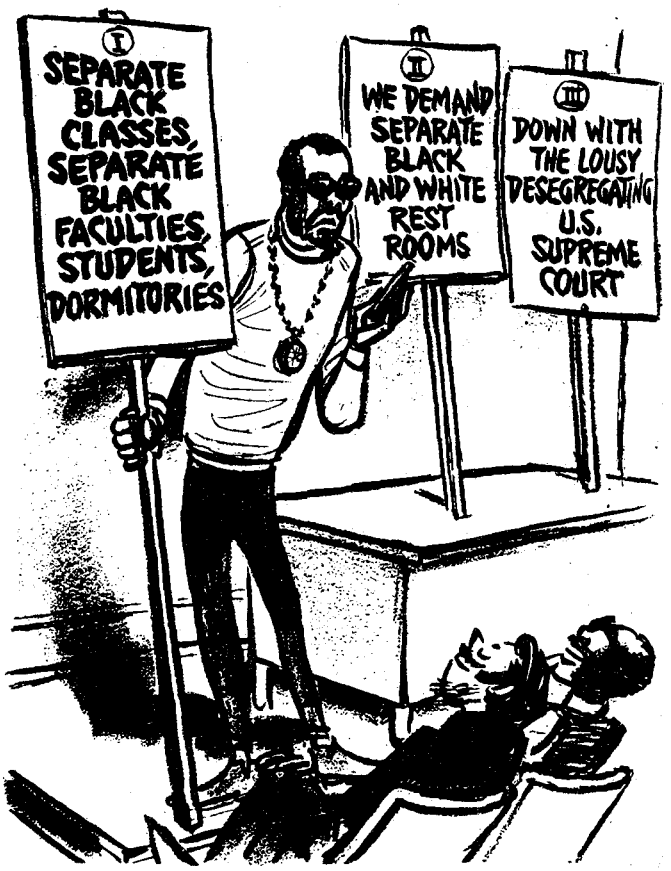
Yet the black campus mood today is not one of revolutionary reflection and regroupment; in fact, the black "revolution" has become its opposite: many Afro-Americans on campuses where yesterday blacks declared their willingness to "wipe out the white race" if their demands were not met, seem now prepared to "wipe out" half the black race if the gains from those demands are threatened. Thus it has been reported that a high administration official at UCLA, put there in response to the militant demands of black students, has cautioned the Economic Opportunities Program (EOP) workers on campus against admitting lower-income students with jail records because the latter might "cause trouble"! And strange though it may at first seem, many black students are in sympathy with this conservative approach to student admissions. This is demonstrated, implicitly, by the fact that there has been little opposition from black students—including the BSUs—on the various Southern California campuses to EOP policies which are clearly biased against lower-income students.

Nor should the lingering, if somewhat stale, separatist rhetoric of "blackness" and "nation building" be allowed to obscure the essentially conservative outlook of the Afro-American student population. Even during the peak years of the black campus "revolt"—the middle to late 1960s—such verbiage was nothing more than a fudge coating, beneath which lay the frozen social drives, the frustrated goals and unrealized ideals of an essentially patriotic, pro-American and white-oriented black middle class. Indeed, as the training ground for the Afro-American elite, the colleges and university campuses—not only in Southern California but throughout the nation—have always been the strongholds of black conservatism.

Thus the black world to which the Afro-American student "revolutionary" supposedly declared his allegiance in the 1960s was, in reality, the white world of the 1950s: a world from which the Afro-American middle class was disbarred by the dogs, fire hoses and night sticks of the white-dominated American ruling class. Denied entrance into the white world around whose periphery it had been anxiously pacing since Reconstruction, the black bourgeoisie, led by a radicalized student sector, turned against its white liberal mentors and stormed angrily into the ranks of the growing "separatist" movement. Here they drew crude sketches of an alternative black world—a fantasy world, devoid of hypocritical white liberals, decidedly more humane and, most important, controlled by blacks. This new world of the black bourgeoisie remained without any concrete expression except that it was supposed to be a manifestation of "blackness."

This vagueness, of course, was an attempt to hide the fact that the Afro-American bourgeoisie had little in common with the masses of black people with whom it had formed a temporary and somewhat shaky alliance. The brief alliance between the Afro-American elite and the masses—who, because of their social conditions are frequently susceptible to separatist agitation—expressed itself socially and politically as the Black Power movement.

Though few would dare admit it at the time, Black Power meant totally different things to different people. For the masses, the struggle for power had truly revolutionary implications, in that such a struggle must necessarily concern itself with a redistribution of goods and income and a change in the ownership of productive capacity. This was shown by the fact that looting was a main preoccupation of the ghetto rebellions that erupted among the masses in Watts, Harlem, Detroit and other American cities.


I
SEPARATE BLACK CLASSES, SEPARATE BLACK FACULTIES, STUDENTS, DORMITORIES
II
WE DEMAND SEPARATE BLACK AND WHITE REST ROOMS
III
DOWN WITH THE LOUSY DESEGREGATING U.S. SUPREME COURT

Herblock (1969)

On the other hand, when the Afro-American middle class—including the black student elite—spoke of power, it was, with a few exceptions, speaking mainly in terms of social recognition and social mobility within the present system. Therefore, the vague and abstract nature of the bourgeois ideologies of "blackness" and Black Power was its main strength: it helped to conceal the divergent and contradictory interest of the masses and the Afro-American middle class.

However, in the last half of the 1960s, the Afro-American student community—its ranks swollen by converted integrationists returned from the civil rights struggles in the Southeast—started to organize itself under the um-

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brella of Black Power. The key issues around which most of the Black Student Unions were organized were the basically elitist notions of black studies, EOP and more black professors on the faculties.

Although these essentially reformist demands were clothed in the rhetorical garb of black nationalism, they were not qualitatively different from the demands Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had made upon transit authorities in Montgomery, Ala. more than a decade earlier, when he demanded black bus drivers for the black community. Thus the "separatism" of the black campus elite was, for the most part, back-door integrationism. The programs of the Black Student Unions consisted of nothing more than the deferred dreams of the integrationist movement, transformed by frustrated minds into the surrealistic imagery which flowed so profusely from the pens and lips of petit-bourgeois intellectuals whose influence came to dominate the unions: Blackness! Soul! Negritude! Redneck! House Niggers! White Racist! Indeed, the black student elite cursed the white man with a thousand tongues and, at the same time, implicitly, worshipped his institutions: Miss *Black* America! The *Black* Madonna! Miss *Black* Homecoming! The *Black* Church! *Black* History! *Black* Capitalism! The *Black* University! All of these were the militant harangues of a socially frustrated and alienated people, provocative symbolism which tended to obscure the essentially conservative political and institutional outlook of the Afro-American nationalist movement on campus.

Finally, it should be pointed out that Black Student Unions, as the vehicles of this political and institutional conservatism, contained within themselves the germs of their own destruction. If the unions moved too far to the left, i.e., if they substituted political radicalism for racial militancy—as was the case with the now defunct Black Student Alliance which was based in Southern California—the BSUs would loose their conservative black student following as did the Alliance. On the other hand, if the unions managed to achieve their goals of acceptance for EOP, black studies and other integrationist demands by college and university officials, the BSUs would deprive themselves of further meaningful issues around which to organize and thus remove the need for their own existence. The latter—and, in a few instances, the former—development has already resulted in the decline or disappearance of Black Student Unions on campuses in Southern California. □

COUNTER COMMERCIALS

THE CUSTOMERS FIGHT BACK

THOMAS DE BAGGIO
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Washington

From Broadway producer David Merrick, stuck with a $14,000 lemon of a Chrysler, to public-interest groups with vague constituencies and flashy styles, the idea of an advertisement in a newspaper or a commercial on television to sell a gripe is appealing. However, it so repels the media and the advertising industry that the idea is being damned almost as if it were a danger to the national security. Newspapers reject the ads; broadcasters refuse to air them; counter advertising has become a dirty word on Madison Avenue. But by year's end the U.S. Supreme Court will hear arguments on two key cases that may open the airwaves to them, and the Federal Communications Commission might make up its mind to bring some order and regulatory common sense to broadcasting by promulgating some rules of access.

Although the lower courts and the Federal Trade Commission have already blessed counter ads as a constitutionally protected right, and indeed a necessity if varying points of view are to be heard, the FCC continues to be a strong supporter of corporate advertisers and broadcasters. It went so far as to argue before the Supreme Court against the right of access sought by Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace, the group which tried to purchase broadcast time for anti-war commercials three years ago. On August 5, 1970, the FCC denied a complaint by the anti-war group based on the refusal of WTOP, a District of Columbia radio station owned by *The Washington Post,* to air a commercial. "If the licensee were required to present any matter brought to him which was not obscene, the result would be not only chaotic but a wholly different broadcasting system which Congress has not chosen to adopt," the commission majority said.

The decision upholding WTOP was made the same day the commission ruled against the Democratic National Committee, which had sought network time to reply to President Nixon. The Democrats' case is part of the issue to be considered by the Supreme Court this fall. A third access case—also turned down by the FCC and reversed by the appeals court—was brought by Friends of the Earth, an environmental group that wanted time on WNBC in New York to challenge anti-pollution claims made by auto and gasoline makers. The court could not comprehend a difference between pollution dangers and smoking hazards, which in 1969 had been of such grave importance that both the FCC and the courts forced broadcasters to use free public service time for anti-smoking spots. That case, pushed by law Prof. John Banzaf III, was the breakthrough that spawned the current attempts by other public-interest advocates to obtain time.

Counter advertising advocates have argued persuasively that they deserve time under the fairness doc-

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trine which requires broadcasters to air all sides of a controversy. They also maintain that the licensee, responsible for administering the public's airwaves, cannot discriminate against particular ads. Such discrimination, they contend, is censorship by a quasi-governmental body and violates their constitutionally protected right of free speech. They bolster these arguments with legal precedents going back to 1946. But the FCC remains unconvinced, as do broadcasters, and so the Supreme Court has a chance this fall to show whether the Nixon influence there is as strong as it is at the FCC.

The cases before the Supreme Court are of special significance to consumers and others seeking access to broadcasting time because the decision is likely to have a bearing on another complaint before the FCC. This one was filed on May 9 by the Center for Auto Safety, a Ralph Nader-affiliated group in Washington which is also backed by Consumers Union. The complaint asserts that all three television networks refused to provide free public-service time for a thirty-second ad by the group, informing viewers of a recall of more than 6 million Chevrolet automobiles for faulty engine mounts. The ad was developed for them by Stern Concern, the California creative arm of the Stern Community Law Firm, a Washington, D.C. public-interest group.

In rejecting the ad the networks said they had already covered the defective engine mounts in newscasts. The Center for Auto Safety argued that the networks should be forced to carry the ad. "A licensee's obligation to cover important public questions goes beyond the requirements of the fairness doctrine," it said, "and is not limited to 'controversial' issues alone."

While the arguments for counter ads tend to be legal and complex, those promoting them have a simpler, more basic rationale. "The essential problem posed by commercials to the present broadcast system is that corporate wealth can and does exercise an inordinate influence over questions of governmental and social policy," the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting noted in an October 12, 1971 petition to the FCC. "Members of the public desperately need a right of 'self-defense' against the blandishments of corporate commercials."

The idea of self-defense could be an important one in gaining support for counter ads, especially from a public that is coming to see itself as the deceived majority. It is estimated that, at a minimum, the average American will have been bombarded by 4,562,500 advertising messages by the time he is 30. From evidence gathered through the FTC's advertising substantiation program, consumers can be assured that only 40 per cent of the factual claims made in commercials are backed by intelligible data. It is no wonder that those responding to a recent Council of Better Business Bureaus poll answered that misleading advertising was consumer problem number two, second only to shoddy goods and services.

As of now, advertising is a one-way street. "Our procedural rules of access to the broadcast forum are seriously skewed," contend Nicholas Johnson, the FCC commissioner, and his former aide, Tracy Westen, in a *Virginia Law Review* article. "These rules offer a right to access only to hucksters of industrial garbage. Anyone wishing to discuss war, peace, mental health or the suffering of the poor must content himself with the beneficence of a corporate 'trustee,' appointed by the government to speak for him."

That is the crux of the argument for counter ads. Their proponents are no longer satisfied with public-interest information that gets a single mention on the six o'clock news. They want to present the information in their own way, using the same techniques employed by the ad industry. They argue that no corporate advertiser would be satisfied with the "neutral" format of a newscast to sell its products. They are sold on Peter Drucker's proposition that "few messages are as carefully designed and as clearly communicated as the thirty-second televison commercial. . . . It is the perfect 'learning' in its methodology, is indeed the prototype of the ideal 'program' with its three key elements: effective sequence of the material, validation through repetition, and self-motivation of the learning through pleasure."

Along with this awesome and hidden power to communicate, the advertising industry presents itself as a conspicuous target. It spends nearly $7 billion yearly, some $3.2 billion of which goes directly to television. Fewer than 100 companies are responsible for 75 per cent of the expenditure, according to the FTC. This power and its concentration are reasons why self-defense against advertising often expresses itself as bitter frustration. Thus after 40,000 miles of anguish caused by a 1967 custom-built Chrysler limousine, David Merrick bought an ad on the front page of the December 24th *New York Times*. In the tiny type reserved for such ads, he proclaimed: "My Chrysler Imperial is a Pile of Junk." *The Wall Street Journal* dubbed him the "Ralph Nader of the limousine set."

Another type of automobile counter ad was developed by Stern Concern for Nader's Auto Safety Center. It warned 1965-69 Chevrolet owners that engine-mount failures could cause fatal wrecks. It said in part: "Now General Motors has announced they won't give you new engine mounts, but they will install a free safety cable. If you have one of these cars," intones Burt Lancaster, "I urge you, get it to a Chevrolet serviceman—slowly." A set of half a dozen other print ads and another thirty-second television commercial critical of aspirin hucksterring have also been prepared by the Stern group, and more are promised. But they have not been widely circulated by the media.

Not only liberal public-interest groups are represented in the counter-ad movement. The conservative-leaning Accuracy in Media (AIM) has bought ads in *The New York Times* to attack the newspaper's columnists. Anthony Lewis was the target of one and associate editor Tom Wicker was the subject of a second which AIM accused the *Times* of suppressing.

The broadcasters have become so opposed to the idea of counter ads that large corporate advertisers who show a little public interest also get slapped down. In July, three major networks turned down a series of Allstate Insurance commercials which showed favorable tests of auto air bags, the controversial passive restraint system for which Ralph Nader has been fighting.

Congress became involved in the controversy last March,

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when Giant Food, a Washington supermarket chain, placed an ad in local papers critical of "skyrocketing" meat prices and suggested that consumers "buy something else." A House Agriculture subcommittee, under pressure from cowboy constituents, found the ad "inaccurate and misleading" in a report issued on July 5. While the food chain's ad resembled a counter ad, it slipped through the advertising departments of both the *Post* and *Star*, as the newspapers' executives admitted, because Giant is their largest food advertiser. An ad challenging the Giant ad by a small rival food chain was suppressed, however, by both daily newspapers.

As FTC Chairman Miles Kirkpatrick, the most authoritative establishment proponent of counter ads, sees it, "The purpose of counter advertising is not to end

false claims but to permit private groups and individuals in appropriate cases to dispute claims with which they disagree. . . . Some broadcasters are saying that their right of free speech will be unconstitutionally burdened by requiring them to run counter advertising. The trouble with this argument is that it ignores the question of whose First Amendment rights are at issue."

The whole counter-ad debate would be much simpler if the FCC had stuck to earlier precedent and not started down a road pitted with contradictions. As early as 1946, when the FCC was stubbornly oriented toward industry, it found persuasive reasons to permit counter advertising. That year Sam Morris, a Texas teetotaler, was refused broadcast time for commercials to counter liquor ads. The FCC forced the station to air the ads and found that commercials were a "species of propaganda" warranting a reply.

A year earlier the commission had tangled with the subject of fairness and public access in a case brought by the United Auto Workers. The union sought commercial time but was refused. The radio station argued that it did not allow time to be purchased "for the presentation of public controversial issues, with the exception of political broadcasts." The FCC ruled that "the operation of any station under the extreme principles that no time shall be sold for the discussion of controversial issues . . . is inconsistent with the concept of public interest established by the Communications Act."

Yet in upholding WTOP's refusal to air paid anti-war commercials, the FCC supported the station's policy of not selling ads for controversial issues. To add to the regulatory confusion, the FCC ruled on August 3 that Senate candidate J. B. Stoner could continue his political ads on a Georgia radio station which proclaimed: "The main reason niggers want integration is that niggers want our white women." The ads had been challenged as inflammatory.

Aside from regulatory law, counter advertisers find solace in a California Supreme Court decision. In 1963 that court found "the right of free speech necessarily embodies the means used for its dissemination because the right is worthless in the absence of a meaningful method of its expression."

The battle over counter advertising will test whether the advertising industry, built on the foundation of putting its best foot forward without challenge, can take a dose of democracy. Some advertising and broadcast executives are afraid it can't. "Advertising is used to promote the sale of products," Peter W. Allport, president of the Association of National Advertisers, explained in a letter to Dean Burch, chairman of the FCC. "Winning a debate is not necessarily the way to sell a product. . . . If their use of broadcasting is going to entangle them in that sort of hassle, they will simply stay out."

Television executives see broadcasters dropping like flies if counter ads are allowed on the air. If the FCC adopted a rule requiring broadcasters to air one counter ad for every five commercials from cereal, auto, gasoline, drug and detergent companies, CBS told the commission, it would lose $68 million a year. If counter advertisers have their way, says the Television Advertising Bureau, it will cost the industry $540.4 million in gross revenues. Instead of earning $453.8 million in pretax profits, TV would show an $86.6 million loss. That, presumably, would be the end of commercial television.

But counter-advertising advocates as well as FTC Chairman Kirkpatrick, scoff at the idea. "Advertisers frequently comment on each other's products," he says. "That is called competition. . . . I am deeply concerned by the notion that the majority of advertisers are able or willing to play the game only if the rules free them from any disagreement. If I were a potential monopolist —of ideas or goods—I would revel in a system which let

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me speak and sell at will but barred all those who would speak with ideas rather than with competing products."

Furthermore, the advocates contend, not all counter ads will be free. Those that are bought would not cause a loss. Most of the free counter ads would come out of time already assigned to public service. In any event, public-interest groups have little money and will not be able to produce a flood of controversial counter ads.

Broadcasters see a nightmare progression of counter ads and counter-counter ads descending upon them. But if the FCC will set realistic guidelines, counter advertisers believe, it won't be a bad dream at all. As for veracity, most proponents of counter ads are ready to document their claims prior to broadcast and expect the FTC to give them rigorous scrutiny. Kirkpatrick thinks it wouldn't be disastrous if a few dishonest counter ads got on the air, since freedom of speech is the overriding issue.

Finally, if advertisers flee to the haven of newspapers and magazines, they may be in for a surprise: the print media is next on counter advertisers' agenda. Westen is contemplating a legal campaign that would force publications to accept all advertising. He concedes it will be a tough fight because previous court cases have allowed newspapers to censor, but he feels there is ample precedent for his case.

There is no doubt that the FTC's position on counter advertising and the appeals court reversal of the FCC's decision prohibiting them have built up a momentum that can assure a future for the idea. In that future, counter-ad makers will face more than legal problems.

When it was preparing its first batch of counter ads, Stern Concern ran into a barrier of fear on the part of actors who relied on television income. Many expressed admiration for the project, but backed out because they feared blacklisting and bankruptcy. These ads, unlike the regular public-service fare whipped up by the Advertising Council, don't lose the point in generalizations.

Another problem to be faced after the legal battles and debates recede will be the effectiveness of advertising. The industry is worried about advertising's impact. Effectiveness studies suggest that over the last decade commercials have lost potency by 20 per cent. A telephone survey of television viewers produced the unhappy conclusion for the ad industry that 97 per cent of the audience couldn't remember the products advertised on six of the top-rated programs of the previous night.

More to the point for counter-ad makers is the disturbing evidence turned up by the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety in a nine-month test campaign for public-service commercials promoting the use of auto seat belts. The study found that the prize-winning spots "had no effect whatsoever on safety belt use." The commercials were seen by viewers two to three times a week and were carefully placed "on or adjacent to a program likely to have an audience to whom the message would most likely appeal," according to a report. But speculation over advertising effectiveness is not a pastime of counter advertisers. They accept it as effective and think if there is robust debate in commercials the effectiveness will rise.

Like the anti-smoking commercials, which did not reduce cigarette sales but did lead indirectly to legislation prohibiting the broadcast of cigarette advertisements, the advertising reform movement has already had an effect on the industry. Much advertising is becoming more straightforward, as the heads of corporations more closely watch their advertising agencies. Lawyers have become shadows to admen, checking their copy for phrases that might be offensive, misleading or unprovable. There is a noticeable reduction of claims and a replacement of puffery with solid information. Some admen say this trend is leading down the road to blandness and less effective ads. The counter advertisers disagree and see hope in the road signs along Madison Avenue. They are confident that their crusade will bring modest reform, not bankruptcy, to the agencies. □

LETTERS (*Continued from page 258*)

nications, hydrology, etc.). NASA hopes that this would evolve into a RAM that could float in orbit outside of the shuttle. Eventually a series of RAMs could be carried up by successive shuttle launches to construct what would in effect be a modularized space station.

As far as we know, NASA has not yet put a price tag on this whole scenario. Estimates for the costs of the original sortie module generally are around $225 million to $250 million. While NASA might be correct in its claims that the space shuttle is a good bargain even for the unmanned space program by itself, whether it should be allowed now to start down the path to the space station is an entirely different question. A vigorous debate on both projects is in order.

W. Craig Howell
Director of Space Shuttle Studies
Universe Astronautics Foundation, Inc.

voice for Georgia

DEAR SIRS: Radio Free Georgia (WRFG), broadcasting from Atlanta, will bring the concept of listener-supported community radio to the Deep South for the first time. Atlanta's electronic media feed pap and pop, ignoring the region's teeming cultural activity and original music of all kinds. The black community, labor, women's organizations, students in high schools and in the city's twelve colleges—none of these people have a significant voice. College and educational stations range from boring to computerized. . . .

WRFG has tax-exempt status and a construction permit granted by the Federal Communications Commission. We are, of course, completely independent of control by commercial sponsors, schools, foundations and established stations.

Some equipment and money have been contributed by individuals and institutions but we are dependent for our real support on subscriptions and small donations. A few thousand dollars more right now will rush us over the line to our first day of broadcasting. But the people of Georgia have never experienced community radio. Once we get on the air we are certain we will be able to raise the consciousness of our neighbors and be supported by them in the future. Meanwhile, we need help outside our community. . . .

Beth Miller
WRFG
P.O. Box 5332
Atlanta, Ga. 30307

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

They Were Speaking Prose All the Time

BLACK ENGLISH: Its History and Usage in the United States. *By J. L. Dillard. Random House. 361 pp. $10.*

ROBERT L. CHAPMAN
Mr. Chapman, a professional lexicographer, teaches English and linguistics at Drew University.

Since black children emerged from complete invisibility in the early 1960s, a great many educational researchers have been trying to devise ways of bringing their school performance up into the national normal range. Among these educationists and psychologists have been laboring a small group of linguists, including Prof. J. L. Dillard. With this book we finally have what was sorely needed to cap the journal articles and mimeographed sheaves in which their work has been published: a coherent account of black English aimed at the lay audience, based on scholarly sources and traditions, and laced with an indignation that could be a goad to action.

Reading it makes me yearn for one term of total professor power. I would enroll a great seminar of all who teach black children and black youth. I would assign this book as the only, obligatory text. I have not the slightest doubt that thereupon the education of blacks would palpably improve, and not through any skill of mine, but only through the cogency and urgency of Dillard's work.

The book is actually three treatises very fluently articulated. The first is a complaint against the failures of "orthodox" linguistics in the matter of black English. The second is an analysis of the kind of English spoken by, he says, about 80 per cent of Afro-Americans. The third is a thesis about the history of this black English and its relation to other varieties of the language. These all issue smoothly in recommendations for the conduct of schools, especially of inner-city schools where black children predominate.

For persons in linguistics the contentious first chapter, "Black English and the Academic Establishment," stings like a nettle, and may evoke the most response. Dillard taxes the whole school of American dialectology with a blindness to any but regional and geographical criteria in dialect distinctions, ignoring class and cultural criteria. In particular, he says, they have attempted to trace all dialects of American English to British provincial speech, sometimes in patently improbable ways. They have explained black English as a curious amalgam of a Scottish feature here, an East Anglian there, there an Irish, etc. Features which could not be accounted for by this jigsaw method were said to be archaisms once present in some white dialect but now preserved only by the blacks, who thus exhibit the conservatism of all backward peoples. Or else they attribute black English to minstrel-show writers, in much the benighted way that one would assert Chaucer invented vernacular Middle English.

Dillard tackles authorities like H. L. Mencken, George Philip Krapp, Hans Kurath and Raven I. McDavid, Jr., more or less head-on, with many quotations and footnotes. In my opinion this is the weakest part of the book, partly because I find that selective quotation makes these scholars sound rather unlike themselves, partly because he makes the academic establishment sound more like a honky conspiracy than it really is, and partly because I think he failed to put the emphasis for our failure where it properly belongs.

To explain the last point: about forty years ago the early structuralists in this country, with a passion something like Dillard's own, opened the fight to validate using and studying all varieties of the language. They also attacked the academic establishment insofar as it regarded standard school English as the only "good" English, and their historical researches showed that the holy standard was only the artifact of a few men, clamped onto our schools by a few books. These linguists, and they included the dialectologists, were very far from ignoring the social bearings of their work. They were democratic and egalitarian in spirit, and had to suffer accusations of corrupting the language, leveling all values, etc. But, and here is the point I wish Dillard had made and been content with, they were American and breathed our racist air. For them the black people were simply invisible. That is a horrifying truth, but one it seems historical consciousness demands. American time had simply not reached the fullness that could produce, even in decent and sensitive scholars, the look of things that Dillard demands of his predecessors.

I dwell on this because it would be a pity if professional appraisal were to cluster on these provocative aspects of the book in a reflex of defensiveness, and also because Dillard brought home to me again the depth of my own blindness (this polluted air blurs our sight most subtly when we think we see clear).

What I have called the second treatise, the analysis of black English, is one of the best parts of the book. Here Dillard's problem was to present a description that would be neither aridly and opaquely technical nor merely anecdotal. It was important to show that black English has precise structure and rules, and therefore is not simply a random and unsteady collection of mistakes. (It is a measure of how "linguistics" has failed to get across even its most elementary lessons that such things still have to be shown.) It was important to show that his kind of analysis could be backed up, space permitting, with the full panoply of linguistic demonstration. It was also important to convey this in a way accessible to readers whose linguistic sophistication was nil. Dillard handles these problems admirably, with excellent taste and judgment.

He wisely concentrates on a few salient features, especially the verb system.

The analysis serves not only to show that black English has the dignity of a language worth scientific description, but also that certain primary features of black English are suggestively more like some African languages and more like pidgin English than they are like standard English. In particular, he shows that black English gives more prominence to aspect in verbs (aspect is the indication of whether an action is in progress or completed, of long or of short duration, extraordinary or habitual, and the like) than it does to tense. The resemblance to African languages and to various pidgins is at the heart of Dillard's thesis about the history and relations of the dialect. His tying in of the analysis with the thesis is what I have in mind when I say that the book is "fluently articulated."

What I call the third treatise comprises most of the book, chapters entitled "A Sketch of the History of Black English," "Pidgin English in the United States—Black, Red, and Yellow," "The Negro Dialect and Southern Dialect" and "Who Speaks Black English?"

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The purpose of these chapters is to establish, with the carefulness of a good chess game, that black English is not a dialect of American English at all but rather a developed variety of maritime pidgin English. The historical progression was, according to Dillard: maritime pidgin English—plantation Creole—black English. His glossary carefully defines "pidgin" and "Creole," and his discussion sufficiently explains the processes of creolization and decreolization that he sees as operative in this historical series. To sketch it very simply, the African slaves in Africa needed a language to use with their captors and masters, and to use among themselves, since apparently it became routine to separate those who spoke a common African language. The *lingua franca* chosen was pidgin English. When the children of the slaves learned this pidgin as a first or native language it became by definition a Creole, plantation Creole. As it developed in time more in the direction of standard English (the obvious prestige dialect), it was decreolized into the black English under discussion.

Dillard has amassed impressive evidence to suggest, if perhaps not definitely to prove, the line of descent he proposes. It is a breath-taking suggestion, both linguistically and ideologically. If it can be maintained, then not only will a historically plausible explanation be brought in to illuminate our blindness but black English will have been established as something much more than a tagalong lingo made of the white man's leftovers and a lot of amusing mistakes.

For one thing, even though the parent language be English, black English will be shown to be an authentic African heritage rather much of the black man's own choice and making. For another, Dillard thinks he might show that the Southern dialect of American English owes a great deal to black English—that in such a profound precinct as their language itself, the Southern whites owe more to the black man than they have ever given him.

In one of the most intriguing chapters of all, Dillard shows the relations between plantation Creole and the very similar varieties of pidgin English used by the American Indians and the Chinese of the California migration. One realizes in a flash not only that the old "ugh!" "heap big chief," "give 'um wampum" stereotype is fairly accurate, but that one had never bothered to wonder why Indians from all over the country talked the same way. Indians have also been rather invisible. Dillard now links them, their history, and their aspirations concretely with those of the blacks by the medium of language.

The author explains in the foreword that his investigations "did not begin as attempts to solve ghetto educational problems," but that "research into Afro-American language patterns kept turning up examples of educational patterns . . . which were absurd in the light of accurate linguistic information." And so his last chapter is "Black English and Education." There all the strands are drawn together, and of course the indignation surges again. Dillard's main point is that remedial programs based upon any "deficit" theory of the black child's plight are wrong and bound to fail. The deficit has been variously spotted by various experts. Some have said that the black child has no language whatever. Others aver that he is unable to form concepts. Others blame the matriarchal family pattern, where the child doesn't have adult males to talk to. And so forth.

Dillard believes, and I agree with him, that what's first needed is general understanding of the elementary linguistic notion that all dialects are equal, but societies make some more equal than others. Black children need to be assured that their language is a good one, a precise one, an expressive one; nothing, God knows, to be ashamed of. *But*, they live in this country where entry into most jobs and the upward escalator depend on use of another dialect. It is just the old-hat replacement of a doctrine of correctness (good versus bad) with a doctrine of appropriateness. We've urged and done it for forty years where white children are concerned.

I have oversimplified Dillard's last chapter, but have probably not misstated its core. He considers much more—for example, the possibility of establishing black English as a standard alongside the present standard. That of course is linguistically and politically a very tricky proposition.

Throughout the book Dillard accords the greatest credit to William A. Stewart of Columbia, his mentor and the pioneer of all such researches. In fact Professor Stewart is the only linguist in the book who comes through totally unscathed. If I had the professor power I mention above, I would force New York Chancellor Harvey Scribner, Mayor John V. Lindsay, Dr. Albert Shanker, and their counterparts in other cities, into a seminar. Then I would turn it over to Dillard and Stewart, who know the subject since they nearly created it, and retire with some confidence that this book would achieve what millions of dollars down the rathole of bad theory have so embarrassingly and depressingly failed to do. □

Radiant Fathers, Alienated Sons

DUSTY SKLAR

Mrs. Sklar has published fiction, essays and interviews in numerous journals, and a play of hers is to be produced by the Muse Theatre, Cleveland.

Nothing illuminates the dark road we've traveled in the last century in America quite so well as hearing the voice of Lincoln Steffens in counterpoint to his son Peter.

Along with the corruption which Steffens Senior so brilliantly exposed, his writings hint of a promise that the era held out to us—a promise that's been somehow revoked. His private delight at the unexpected joys of fatherhood was partly an eagerness to participate in the challenge of progress: he could now personally experiment with improving the race. He only regretted not having a girl because of the singular opportunities his liberal *avant-garde* nurturing could have given the less fortunate sex. He was 58 when Peter was born, although his wife, Ella Winter, was in her mid-20s. He used the experience to write in a totally new vein, for and to his son. What he wrote gives a portrait of an extraordinarily sensitive father. Where other great men were occupied in doing the things which made them great, Lincoln Steffens was determined to be a good father.

Curious to know what effect such a father had on his son, I got in touch with Peter Steffens, just back from a long sojourn in Israel and living in Berkeley, Calif. with his Israeli wife and his two daughters, aged 5 and 9. Peter reminded me that his father had died when he was 11. Here are his responses to excerpts from his father's writings:

Lincoln Steffens: "I thought I had to make my son at home in the strange world I had invited him to visit." (*Written the day before he died.*)

Peter Steffens: "I found that I had to learn to be aggressive."

Lincoln Steffens: "There is hope for the race. Babies are born all right. They are not born with, they don't know any of the bunk that makes us grown-ups make war and money, constitutions and best-sellers. They don't know respect, they don't know fear, they don't know any of the evils we call virtues. They

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are clean-minded and clear-eyed and empty-headed; and curious. They are fit to go out and climb God's tree of life, eat the fruit thereof and see (and see the beauty of) all things as they are. They have no convictions, no principles to blind them."

Peter Steffens: "Yeah, but I'll tell you something, the world isn't like that. I don't think it works too well, because the world isn't too interested in that kind of person. I was shaking hands and smiling at everybody—I was kind of a California kid, you know. Then I got into the Second World War. I was in the Navy for three years."

Lincoln Steffens: "The trouble with men (and women) is that babies are brought up by women. In the first, impressive years of infancy the mother, nurses, women-servants, women teachers, have the exclusive care of the child. And the reason for this is that the fathers are young, usually, and busy downtown making a living or a career. I am old enough to be through with all that silly servitude. The father's place is in the home and there I am and there I mean to stay—on guard—to protect my child from education."

Peter Steffens: "My mother is German-Jewish in background and Victorian English, raised in Australia and London. She demanded more obedience and was much younger and more energetic. In a way, my father was my mother and my mother was my father. She was the one who laid down the commands. My father embraced me when I needed comforting."

Lincoln Steffens: "The theory I am working out is that, if a child can acquire a superiority complex before he is old enough to be a prig, he will achieve self-confidence and save his (inborn?) belief that he is 'as good as anybody.' It is the superiority of parents and older children that humbles the child, I think, and make him shy, weak and, fighting for his self-respect, offensively self-assertive. I let Pete win most of our battles, it hurts my pride, but it builds up his. . . . I never tell him that I am right and that he is wrong."

Peter Steffens: "I think he was right but there are different ways of doing that. If you appreciate what a kid is learning to do and is proud of being able to do, that's what a kid needs—not to be chopped down. As for pretending to lose the game in order to bolster his fragile little ego, I don't know that that's necessary.

"Competition today is vicious. People are taught to distrust one another. They're not just taught *not to trust*, which would be bad enough, but are actually taught that their fellow man is their goddamn enemy. He wants your job and he's going to take your idea, and look out for everybody. This is all around us now. The terrible feeling now is that we don't know where the hell we're going in this country. We're looking to guys like George Wallace to save the country. A helluva lot of people have done that. Those are human beings! What's happened to those people? . . . The idea that by punishing somebody else or locating some enemy you'll solve the problem is totally misleading. We're in a lopsided state now."

Lincoln Steffens: "I don't know what to teach him, but I do know what to keep him from learning. He will have to go to Their schools and a college and They will force him, with Their authority to—recite. But I can warn him against Their authority and Their worse than ignorance."

Peter Steffens: "I grew up at a time when we believed that socialism would be a solution for many problems. I still have that conviction. I don't know if I got it from him or my mother or the thirties or the whole thing of Russia versus Germany. Hitler certainly was not the solution. Soviet communism turns out to be a denial of a lot of things it should have been standing for. There seems to be a lot of betrayal of hopes."

Lincoln Steffens: "I will leave him a fine fellow, who, whether he is a poet or a politician, a businessmen, a reporter or a lounge lizard, can play the game and win, without believing in it or in his own lies; a humorous man of the world, a true prophet of the beautiful life to come on this earth and, perhaps, if he is good, the father of a girl baby."

Peter Steffens: "I'm raising my girls to be a little tougher. The world, especially in periods of transition, you might generously say, is one in which people just don't have time for one another when they're struggling to survive. Unless there's a political movement or something you can cotton to, you feel like you're on your own, and people who need you or depend on you are a drag. I'd like my girls to be independent, but warm enough and kind enough to give when there's a need or a chance."

Lincoln Steffens: "I teach my child . . . that nothing is done, finally and right; that nothing is known, positively and completely. That the world is theirs, all of it. It is full of jobs for them, full of all sorts of things for them to find out and do, or do over and do right."

Peter Steffens: "I'm out of work now. I wonder if I'm aggressive enough. My

TYPEWRITER WITHOUT KEYS

The wordless messages we send with our eyes
arrange themselves like pennies on the floor.
You think I mail you explosives
heavy packages
you're afraid to open.
You bring them to a friend
to x-ray for you.

Surprise phone calls.
The caller hangs up,
twisted in the cord.
Perhaps he has hung himself
or maybe he's just
disconnected.

At any rate we don't get together.
You come to see me in cars that
sprout wings, turn into orange
butterflies, and float back to their yearly
trees at Pacific Grove, clinging
to branches as if their feet
were covered with honey.

Some of my letters
come back unopened
and once you said
you got a letter from me
with purple violets printed
in the corners
and nothing else on the page.

Phyllis Janowitz

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upbringing was very gentle, tender, warm, affectionate. The world doesn't really have time to be warm and affectionate. In most countries outside of this country, people are warmer. American culture tends to separate people and render them a little cold or at least insensitive, certainly not loyal. Commercialism is drenched into our values. People come out lonely."

Lincoln Steffens: "The truth is better for the children. I shall never forget the thrill I had when I happened to read several historians on one episode, and saw that they differed on the facts of that episode; and in other chapters. On all great events they did not at all agree; so I saw, with elation, that there was a job for us boys in history. And not to learn but to make history, to write history. Every chapter had, and has, to be worked over and written over again!"

Peter Steffens: "The sixties were great! In 1961 I was in the Department of Journalism at the University of California in Berkeley. I taught there till 1969. It was like a renewal of the sense of justice—refreshing. The kids 19 to 22 get angry when they hear about something that's wrong. Who else does? We're all so goddamn casual. Their anger was right—at Vietnam and the race thing. It rejuvenated everybody in this country. But now we're terrified. Of what?" □

Looking Back to the Future

INVEIGHING WE WILL GO. *By William F. Buckley, Jr. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 410 pp. $7.95.*

CHARLES LAM MARKMANN
Mr. Markmann, a frequent contributor, is a journalist, critic, novelist and translator. His latest book is The Buckleys, *which will be published in 1973 by William Morrow.*

It is just about 300 years, according to a doubtless apocryphal tale, since Louis XIV ordered that no further patents be granted to inventors because everything worth while had already been invented. And it is just thirteen years since William F. Buckley, Jr., wrote in *UP from Liberalism* (the emphases in the title and the quotation are his) that "those truths that have *already* been apprehended are more important to cultivate than those undiscovered ones" sought by nonconservatives, and that "all that is finally important in human experience is behind us . . . the crucial explorations have been undertaken. . . . Whatever is to come cannot outweigh the importance to man of what has gone before."

Thirteen years, again, before the publication of that declaration, Mr. Buckley was saying precisely the same thing when he entered Yale College in the autumn of 1946. And, in his new book, he plays the theme over and over, endlessly *da capo*, with no variations and precious few modulations. Both the style and the tone, however, have gained considerably in these twenty-six years: most of the pompousness and (by his own avowal) the circumlocution has been purged, and, to quote the introduction to *Inveighing We Will Go*, "antagonizing people is something I care less and less to do."

The introduction concludes with the announcement that "nobody knows quite what is happening in America." Evidently. While a growing number of people to his left observes with geometrically increasing disquiet an insidious spread of those notions and attitudes dearest to Mr. Buckley, he is made at least equally apprehensive by an idiosyncracy of his mental retina that causes things, in America and in the world, to look precisely the contrary to him. On the other hand, Buckley is not devoid of a sense of humor about himself—not a common quality in public figures—or afraid to let friends and enemies know he has been had. He is careful, for example, to juxtapose a 1970 encomium of President Nixon's foreign policy with a morose 1971 acknowledgment that his conservatives had been betrayed by the man whom they—and Buckley—had helped to place in the White House and whom, for all his peevish disappointment, the author and his friends and followers find themselves constrained to support again.

Inveighing We Will Go consists of more than a hundred pieces, vintage 1969-72, all of which have previously appeared in the author's syndicated column, in his own *National Review*, and in *Playboy*, *Life*, *The New York Times Book Review*—which had the privilege (I am not being sarcastic) of introducing by far the best of the lot, a delightfully urbane model of what scholarship could be: a review of the new two-volume edition of *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Now this book is a big Buckley dose, even for unflagging admirers, and so the essays are divided into sections roughly coinciding with themes: e.g., "Mr. Nixon's Long March to China"; "Winding Down the Wars"; "Law, Order, Violence, Repression"; "The Education of the Kids"; "Politics"; "The Decline of the Catholic Church"; "Personal"; "Manners, Mannerists, Vexations." This incomplete inventory, obviously, contains designations that can save time for the knowledgeable Buckley reader, since they tell him at once pretty much what the author is probably going to say.

There is, quite predictably, nothing new in the telegraphed punches, except, at times, rather better form and style than used to be the case. Some people who knew Buckley twenty-five years ago at Yale, or even ten years later on the lecture-and-debate circuit, think he has mellowed, and to a degree most of the pieces in this book might be taken as evidence for that view, which is expressed otherwise—in terms of disappointment—by a number of his disciples, particularly some of the no-longer-Young Americans for Freedom. What gives the book its greatest interest is what is least concerned with politics and preachment.

This foe of the "Warren Court" and its "coddling of criminals" is also the man who spent many years and a good deal of his own money to save Edgar H. Smith, Jr., from New Jersey's electric chair because Buckley was firmly convinced that Smith (a stranger to him) had been wrongfully convicted—largely through the denial of many of those rights that Buckley assails the Supreme Court for having safeguarded. Those who have spent twenty years saying that Buckley is a stranger to human compassion might well read him on Smith. But the rest of the book does tend to support the belief that his compassion can never extend beyond a restricted number of individuals—certainly never to humanity as a whole.

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There is unfortunately nothing, even in the warmest tributes in this volume, to match Buckley's exquisite homage to his friend, Whittaker Chambers. Nor, in contrast, can one recall any previous occasion when the notably fastidious Mr. Buckley, the declared enemy of the ugly and the obscene, has been so enthusiastic over anything so vulgar as the verses (which he reprints in their pitiful entirety) that his friend, William F. Rickenbacker, wrote about the first woman cosmonaut. This article has the support of some of Buckley's own, more refined venom in his discussions—or attempted destructions—of such sitting targets as Drew Pearson, Jerry Rubin and John Lennon.

On the other hand, Buckley is no mediocre satirist. Somewhere along the line he appears to have encountered and, with the fascination born of horror, studied the *Cosmopolitan*-Girl Ethos as propounded by the magazine's editor, Helen Gurley Brown: "You've got to make yourself more cupcakeable all the time so that you're a better cupcake to be gobbled up." Not even the fiercest champion of women's liberation could have done so beautiful a demolition job. Buckley, as a ruthless exposer of the shoddinesses that pervade the consumer culture, has the eye and the zest, if not the art, of a Swift.

The trouble with Buckley is that he refuses to be (in a purely figurative sense) all-black or all-white. He is one of the leaders—certainly the intellectual paladin—of a force that is regaining the allegiance of the majority here as in so much of the world: the stifling force of reaction and retrogression mislabeled (by itself as by its enemies) conservatism. At the same time he is one of the very few persons of genuine culture in American public life, one of the very few concerned to maintain that civility that he intuitively recognizes as an essential element in the survival of any society of more than one person. Louis XIV may be a political disaster; but he remains an aesthetic asset. □

The Greeks We Do Not Recognize

EIGHTEEN TEXTS: Writings by Contemporary Greek Authors. *Edited by Willis Barnstone. Harvard University Press. 187 pp. $7.95.*

PETER MACKRIDGE

Mr. Mackridge is a Laming Travelling Fellow, The Queen's College, Oxford. He lived in Greece for three years while doing research for the doctoral dissertation that he is now completing.

In 1970, when the Greek junta had been in power for three years, a group of writers decided that their self-imposed silence, which they had agreed upon in 1967 as a protest against censorship, should be broken. During these three years hardly any literary work by any respected author had been published. Now they realized that their boycott, imposed in the event of a transitory dictatorship, was unsuitable for a regime that looked as if it would last. So, a year after George Seferis' courageous open letter of protest and the subsequent "Letter of the 18," eighteen authors, including Seferis himself and some of the original eighteen, published *Eighteen Texts,* a collection of anti-government writings which hit the Greek literary world like a bombshell, running to four editions of 3,000 copies each within six months—a best-selling figure by Greek standards. The success of this joint venture (its contributors followed the "safety in numbers" policy, since it was hardly possible for the police to arrest all of them) prompted the editors to begin a series of books entitled *New Texts*; by the second volume of this series the number of contributors totaled nearly fifty.

One of the most striking and heartening aspects of *Eighteen Texts* and of the subsequent collections is that, in a country notorious for its political schisms, these authors come from varying political backgrounds, ranging through the whole spectrum from monarchists to Marxists. For once they have joined forces to present a united opposition to the Colonels.

Rereading these texts after two years in their new English translation, one realizes how right the eighteen were to publish, despite the reservations of many of their colleagues at the time. One also notices with pleasure that, while being absolutely topical, these pieces have not lost their force; indeed, with one's lengthening experience of the present Greek regime, they seem all the more powerful today.

Eighteen Texts consists of short stories, poems, extracts from novels, a travelogue and three essays. Although "literary value is of secondary importance to the circumstances under which these documents were written," as Cedric Whitman says in his foreword, although they are "committed," they come from the pens of some of the best Greek authors writing today. These vary in age between 35 and 70, but most belong to the first postwar generation, who are now in their 40s and 50s.

The first piece is a poem by the grand old man of Greek letters, George Seferis, who died last year without seeing the country he loved so passionately become free again. In his allegorical poem he expresses the anguish of being Greek, of being the heir to an inheritance of age-old suffering at the hands of native and foreign oppressors. Having annihilated the poisonous snakes, the Cats of Saint Nicholas disappear: "they just couldn't take in that much poison. . . . Centuries of poison; generations of poison." The Greek word for poison also means grief and bitterness. The question which Seferis poses is, can the Greek race survive such torments? There seems to be no end of their suffering: the Turkish occupation, the German occupation, and now the Colonels. This is a masterly piece which does not sacrifice poetic value to political expediency, for, far from being political, it is simply a plea for freedom.

This is the tenor of all the pieces in this volume, which is characterized by its sobriety and subtlety. No ideological rhetoric here, just a statement of a situation which should be otherwise. But there is a certain dose of wry humor in stories by four writers who have got together and invented a mythical South American state, "Boliguay," in which to set their pieces. These stories, about freedom of speech and of the press, and the compromises that must be made by every citizen in a totalitarian regime if he does not want to lose his job and his basic freedoms, stress, by their Latin American setting, the despondency of the Greek intellectual who sees a European country subjected to a "Third World" kind of regime. One of the common factors in the authors represented in this volume is their European orientation; favoring a greater unity with Europe, they now express their feeling of isolation in a country ruled by a government which does its best to promote sometimes spurious Greek national values at the expense of more liberal concepts.

An excellent picture of the impossibility of ignoring a dictatorial regime is presented by Rodis Roufos in *The Candidate,* in which the hero is a candidate for a university professorship. He is only one step away from success, but that step is a "routine loyalty check." The words of the police officer who conducts the examination have that commonplace ring which makes them

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so sinister: "From now on, whoever is not with us is against us." "If first-rate men are not politically reliable, we'll get second- and third-rate men. . . ." And, when the apolitical candidate is told he will be expected to make speeches about the Meaning of the Revolution, "They won't be political, they'll be patriotic." In both *The Candidate* and T.D. Frangopoulos' *El Procurador,* which is extremely cleverly written, the heroes are conservatives who have never aligned themselves with the opposition. Both of them eventually realize that, for the thinking man at least, it is impossible to remain apolitical and uncommitted in the face of a repressive dictatorship. The policeman's words, "Whoever is not for us is against us," can cut both ways. The same choice is presented in the poem, "The Decision," by Manolis Anagnostakis: "Of course we don't ask that you stop/ your activities, interrupt your life,/ your favorite newspapers, discussions/ at the barber shop, your Sundays at the stadium./ One word only. Go ahead then:/ are you for or against?/ Think it over carefully. I'll be waiting."

What strikes the reader about all these texts is their absolute sincerity, their immediate expression of personal pain. Free from overliterary ornamentation, these pieces convey a genuine tone of voice: circumstances have made their authors abandon fiction and deception in favor of clear, uncompromising writing. It is significant that all three essays in this volume are concerned with language. When D. I. Maronitis acutely analyzes a poem by Cavafy, he is pleading for an increased perception of the subtleties of expression, poetic or otherwise; a man who is intensely critical of language will not be fooled by propagandist rhetoric. Finally, Alexandros Arghyriou gives an account of the language controversy and the origins of the official *katharevousa,* an artificial language imposed on the Greek people immediately after independence, and despite the efforts of many reformers to oust it, reimposed in schools and universities by the present Greek Government. This stultifying language, which formalizes all thought and which is now the language of education as well as of state documents, affects people's minds: they do not have an opportunity of learning their real mother tongue, but are reduced to thinking, speaking and writing along the rigid lines laid down by the official language. It is a fact that even educated Greeks have difficulty in

FOR SUCH A BIRD HE HAD NO CONVENIENT CAGE

Her dreameries had been raided.
To the utmost rag and bone they had been hauled
Over the coals and up the flagpole for inspection.
To their limits they had been exposed
And all but sneeringly investigated.
Therefore what to do?
Invasions like this are of a classic port,
Our historians tell them to the last redoubt
Of unjustified sacking and not one stone left.
Hers was not of the same case.
It was not Oven Cleaner against Mace
And massed blue faces, snipers invisibly
Picking off your poor Jack, the place so broad
Hostilities had everywhere to hide.
It was not the roving muggers and armed bands,
The keeping up of nerve which means increase
Of the not-thinking or—odorous consequence—
From all the crooked coldness, emptiness
That slacks the purpose in a waste of war.
It was something less than that and something more:
It was friends retreating into wordlessness,
Hauling in their sails, as one might say,
Like love going back on what it'd said and sworn
Though that would numb and numb to the bone,
It was the pain of others beginning to show through,
It was Angst *about their almost inhuman bravery,*
It was hearing the wound gnaw in them,
Phagocytes at the stormed body.

Jean Garrigue

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expressing themselves because of this confusion.

Not all these texts are of the same high standard, but one should not be choosy. For one thing, the situations which they depict apply equally aptly to any dictatorial regime, not only to Greece. The translations are on the whole excellent, despite a few "Greekisms" that have crept into the English versions. Most of the prose pieces read very well, but it is almost impossible to do justice to Anagnostakis' subtly ironic use of language.

Eighteen Texts opened the way for a greater freedom of expression in Greece: despite further arrests (several of the contributors to this and the subsequent volumes are, or have been, in prison or in exile) and closures (the police have recently broken up certain cultural societies and shut down some of the few literary magazines that existed in Greece), expression is gradually becoming easier, and many authors have now taken the plunge by publishing their work separately. Current publishing activity, one is pleased to see, is greater than ever before. This could not have happened without the pioneering venture of the eighteen. □

Prophet of Death and 'Voidancy'

THE INTERPRETERS. *By Wole Soyinka. Africana Publishing Corp. 251 pp. $8.*

ALAN CHEUSE
Mr. Cheuse teaches literature at Bennington College.

To the growing list of ex-colonial subjects whose prose fiction burns brightly while England's home fires have all but gone out, add the name of the Nigerian Wole Soyinka. Soyinka, who usually turns to verse when not making the plays which have already brought him much fame, published his first and, thus far, his only novel in the 1960s. At long last, it can now be found in North American bookshops in a cloth edition —it was previously available only in paperback—appropriately bearing the imprint of a new African-owned New York publishing house.

The Interpreters is the story of a quest for value, public and private, on the part of five Nigerian professional men, and it is set in that country's urban centers, its high-rise apartment houses, night clubs and universities, as well as in its slums and back-country forests. A text of genius, its language, particularly the speech of its main characters—Sagoe, a journalist; Egbo, a chief's son turned civil servant; Sekoni, an engineer and sculptor; Kola, a painter; Lasunwon, a lawyer; and Bandele, a professor—is the clearest sign of the novel's worth:

> "Metal on concrete jars my drink lobes." This was Sagoe, grumbling as he stuck fingers in his ears against the mad screech of iron tables.

Delivered in this seemingly offhand manner, the opening lines establish the role of language in Sagoe's rough passage through the corrupt offices of Nigerian publishers and politicians. We come to understand his rattled state of mind by his infernal references to his "drink lobes," for they are, along with his militant declamations on behalf of his fanciful philosophy called "Voidancy," almost all we know of him. "Voidancy," or the spiritualization of the bowel movement,

> is the last charted mine of creative energies, [and] in its paradox lies the kernel of creative liturgy—in release is birth.

This is an appropriate view to advocate, according to Sagoe, in a country in which "next to death . . . shit is the most vernacular atmosphere."

Sagoe's vernacular addition to the novel's atmosphere is only one of a number of such motifs. Each of the characters may, in fact, be judged by the quality of his speech. Sekoni, for example, stutters, and after we witness his victimization by the jackals in his profession and learn of his death in an automobile accident, we realize that his impeded speech signaled an impeded existence. Egbo, on the contrary, is a young man of royal lineage. Whether he is standing at the side of the creek where his parents drowned in a canoe accident or recalling his first sexual encounter, his diction, and that of the passages given over to describing him, are closer to the sublime:

> And he was remembering the wrung cries of his love-making now. . . . In darkness let me lie . . . so now he laughed. In the great yawn of the land the river's run stilled, turned a black choking tongue, he laughed, for the words were hardly dry on his tongue . . . in darkness let me lie . . . cry also . . . in darkness cry. . . .

Lasunwon, a bitter, thwarted man, speaks in a cramped and unproductive style. Kola swallows his words. Although he feels the stirrings of a romance with the English wife of a faculty member at the medical school, Kola concentrates mainly on his search for models for the gods in his painting, the "Pantheon." (In that canvas he seeks to make an epic image of Nigeria, and his progress toward completing it serves as an analogue for the unfolding of the narrative itself.)

The minor characters also have special speech patterns and metaphor bestowed upon them: the medical school careerist Faseyi and his colleagues satirize themselves by attempting to imitate British intonation and drawing-room manners; Lazarus, the leader of a religious cult whose albinism is taken as a sign of ambiguous fortune by all those with whom he comes in contact, speaks in pseudo-apocalyptic imagery; and the fair-skinned American Negro Joe Golder, to name only one more of the many minor figures in the novel, speaks in flat Yankee tones that emphasize his disdain for his own pigmentation and troubled sexuality (Soyinka thumbs his nose at James Baldwin by having Golder keep a copy of *Another Country* in his car as bait for prospective male lovers).

There are, of course, clearly depicted psychological motives at work. Sagoe, during the course of the novel, struggles to square his "drink lobe" ethics with the requirements of his profession. Egbo, having refused his tribal role, seeks to make a useful life in the city. Sekoni, poor stutterer, tries to combine his technical and aesthetic interests, but dies unfulfilled in his labors. And Kola wants to finish his painting, which Egbo, when it is unveiled at the novel's end, denounces as "an optimist's delusion of continuity" because it portrays Lazarus, a failure at becoming a godlike leader in real life, as "an arched figure rising not from a dry grave, but from a primordial chaos of gaseous whorls and flood-waters. . . ." However, like the discrete figures in Kola's "Pantheon" for which they posed, these individuals must be seen in the larger context of the narrative. Each of their voices forms only a small part of the multifold language that is as much unlike descriptive prose as Kola's style is unlike conventional portraiture.

Yet in Soyinka's pantheon, there is no doubt that ordinary men, by using language forcefully, may become as gods. Consider Bandele, the academic whose reserved manner of address keeps him from standing out during most of the story. In the concluding chapter, we find him saddened by the death of a young boy and further disheartened by the response of his colleagues to the plight of one of his female students. Fed up with their canting, time serving

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and hypocrisy, he curses them—"I hope you all live to bury your daughters!"—and emerges

> old and immutable as the royal mothers of Benin throne, old and cruel as the *ogboni* [elders] in conclave pronouncing the Word.

Soyinka himself pronounces his words with as much force and grandeur as old Bandele. Sometimes they are scatological, sometimes as hot as the spicy soup Faseyi's mother concocts for a communal supper because she cannot stand Nigerians who don't eat pepper. But, at crucial moments, he tells his tale as naturally and relentlessly as the incessant rain and rivers—Heaven's Voiding—that flow through the novel's pages, speaking with grace and brilliance

> . . . of these floods of the beginning, of the fevered fogs of the beginning, of the first messenger, the thimble of earth, a fowl and an ear of corn, seeking the spot where a scratch would become a peopled island . . . of the endless chain for the summons of the god . . . of the one who stayed to tend the first fruits of the ginger of the earth with passages of the wind around him and of the heat and the rain. . . .

In passages such as these, Soyinka's black tongue becomes indistinguishable from the tongue of the river alongside which Egbo dreamed of his first love. Like the other gifted members of that pantheon of novelists who have transmuted the language of their former imperialist masters (the Trinadadian V. S. Naipaul, the Guyanan Wilson Harris, the Ghanian Ayi Kwei Armah, and the Nigerian Chinua Achebe) Wole Soyinka transforms English into his own free and living speech. □

The Decade of Axel's Castle

EDMUND WILSON. *By Leonard Kriegel. Southern Illinois University Press. 138 pp. $5.95.*

ROBERT EMMET LONG
Mr. Long is a college teacher and critic who writes frequently on American literature.

Leonard Kriegel's *Edmund Wilson* is a brief but very discriminating appraisal of Wilson's literary career, a career that spanned five highly productive decades. Although Kriegel regards Wilson, as many of us do, as our foremost man of letters, his book has the virtue of being a hard-minded critique and not a eulogy. *Edmund Wilson* is a critical portrait—one which deals not with Wilson's outward life but his inward one, giving outline to inner conflicts.

The poetry, short stories, novels, dialogues and plays are mentioned only in passing; Kriegel concentrates upon the major books of literary and cultural criticism, and some of the political reporting, travel literature, and reviews to show that Wilson was an author who had a "great decade," in this case the 1930s. The decade began with his first book of criticism, *Axel's Castle* (1931) and culminated with his most powerful and enduring work, *To the Finland Station* (1940). Kriegel believes that the vigor of *Axel's Castle* comes from Wilson's close personal involvement with his argument that literature must take a new, more socially and morally implicated, direction. His essays and reviews of the 1920s and 1930s, later collected as *The Shores of Light*, also have an immediacy which reflects a participant's interest in the contemporary. Kriegel also thinks well of *The American Jitters* (1932), Wilson's reporting on social-political conditions across America in the early depression, ranking it with Agee's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. In this book, as Wilson could never seem to do with the imaginary characters of his plays, men and women are captured dramatically. His ability to project historical figures dramatically, to visualize them in their social circumstances, and in the context of the forces which shaped them and which they helped to shape, found its richest expression in *To the Finland Station*. Wilson invested his own moral passion in the figure of Marx, contending against enormous odds, to bring a rational and just order to society. Yet in the seven years in which he worked on *To the Finland Station*, Wilson lost faith in Marxism, a faith he was never able to replace with another.

After the thirties, Wilson continued to be extraordinarily prolific; and yet the work of this later period shows signs of a loss of direction, and of a falling off in power and even coherence. *Classics and Commercials* (1950), a collection of his articles from the 1940s, is made up of too many fugitive pieces, often on writers too marginal for Wilson to have paid attention to, and of afterthoughts about writers from the twenties. *The Bit Between My Teeth* (1965), which has the same twilight tone, covers the period of 1950 to 1965 in name only, showing no apparent awareness of a postwar culture. *Patriotic Gore* (1962), the major work of Wilson's later career, seems to Kriegel to be burdened with an unworkable thesis, namely that the Civil War was morally dubious, that it was an encroachment of the Union upon the "integrity" of the South, an aggression which wore the disguise of a mission of patriotic apocalypse. Such a simplistic version (sympathy shown to the South with its "integrity," and hostility shown to the North as an axis of power) reveals how much Wilson's imagination had ceased to function creatively, how much he had retired into what he himself called his "pocket of the past."

Kriegel's case is well made, even if one feels that Wilson's career did not follow quite so exactly the graph which has been drawn. *Axel's Castle* has as unwieldy a thesis as many of the later books; certainly in the chapters on Proust and Joyce, Wilson gives the impression of having fallen in love with the authors he set out to repudiate, and reveals them to be more morally relevant than most readers would have supposed. One senses a confusion in the book, which reappears in some of the "thesis" books of the later period, but not necessarily because of Wilson's disillusionment with Marxism. Nor is all the best writing in the 1930s; much of it appears in the decades that follow. And however astigmatic the viewpoint, *Patriotic Gore* is one of Wilson's most brilliant books, with an interest second only to that of *To the Finland Station*.

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One need only compare the portraits in *Patriotic Gore* to those of Vernon Parrington to appreciate the vigor and penetration, and the incomparably greater dramatic power, of Wilson's mind.

Yet Kriegel is right that after World War II a change can be seen in Wilson's work, that he becomes more aloof and misanthropic, that his writing moves toward fragmentation as if suffering from the loss of meaningful direction, and that the tone of some of this writing is one of weariness. Wilson's remoteness can be seen in *Europe Without Baedeker* (1947), his collection of pieces on England and Europe immediately after the war, in which he tends to regard Europe as a sordid piece of real estate and, oddly enough, to make no distinction between the Allied and the Nazi powers. In some respects, his mind seems already closed and unreceptive. He gives no sense of sympathy with people in their suffering during the war or after, and sometimes describes them with biological images. In *Upstate* (1971) he describes people who seem to him very common, and wonders why they should wish "to reproduce their kind." A deep disillusionment runs through all of the latter half of Wilson's career.

The crisis of Wilson's later years would seem to involve not only the political disillusionment he felt at the end of the thirties, but even the rational life itself. War is a recurring subject in some of the later books, and in *A Piece of My Mind* (1956), attempting to account for it, Wilson rejects Marx's economic exploitation as an adequate explanation. Its causes are irrational. Having lived through two World Wars in which he did not believe and which produced only an accelerated cheapening and depersonalization of society, as well as the nuclear age that threatens our survival, he can no longer believe in the power of rationality to create a humane and meaningful world. He withdraws into his "pocket of the past," into the period of the early republic in which rationality and individual integrity were important. *Patriotic Gore*, apparently about the Civil War and its consequences, is Wilson's disillusioned testament of the 20th-century experience he has known. In this, Wilson comes to resemble his contemporaries of the twenties, to resemble his friend John Dos Passos who returned to a Jeffersonian vision, and even to resemble his college friend F. Scott Fitzgerald, whose *Tender Is the Night* uses the tragedy of the American Civil War to express his sense of the betrayal of life. □

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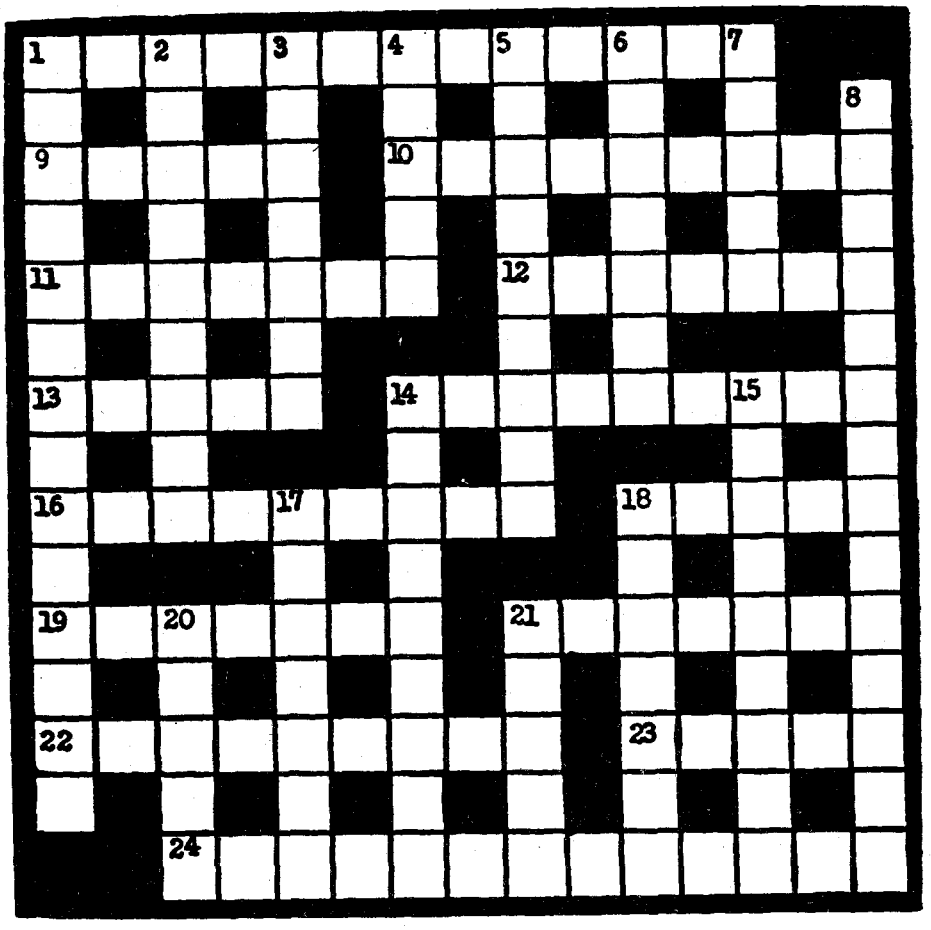
Crossword Puzzle No. 1457

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 9 They might hope to present a view of the country, in general. (6, 7, 5)
10 Given a choice of avoiding written examinations, one might, in a possibly outmoded type of college. (9)
11 Ruth served them well. (7)
12 Brings into public notice the method of aeronautic display. (3, 4)
13 Some men don't appear free from fault in it. (5)
14 Saul might be associated with this late month. (4, 5)
16 One might 13 such passages. (9)
18 Did the wrong people have a stake in this city? (5)
19 Contour sketch? (7)
21 As a firm detrital matter, it seems the vessel should be iron rather than tin! (7)
22 Is land interest all he does, in a way? (9)
23 A material feature when it has nothing on. (5)
24 Doesn't imply a heart with a pace-setter —console with it, however. (8, 5)

DOWN

1 It does if it's round—but probably they'll be on the table. (9, 5)
2 and 20 down The rest of the business one might hope to be favorable. (7, 2, 5)
3 Otherwise detains a sort of it. (7)
4 Makes accessible. (5)
5 A novel showplace might not fare so well in the tropics. (3, 6)
6 Meantime, termini suffice to make it. (7)
7 One of the cardinal points of a Revolutionary prime minister. (5)
8 What to do by air delivery if the fellow asks for feathers in the sailor-song? (4, 3, 3, 4)
14 In turn, video is expelled! (6, 3)
15 Taking a turn, but not for the better. (9)
17 A race for 23 with 122½ degrees instead of nothing. (7)
18 A blow-hard from northern Africa? (7)
20 See 2 down
21 One has been to Mecca, of course (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1456

ACROSS: 1 Nineteenth hole; 9 Veteran; 10 Unlined; 11 Go-cart; 12 Abnormal; 14 Ditched; 15 and 4 down Luncheons; 17 Sorts; 19 Towards; 21 Weakened; 23 Charon; 25 Lambent; 26 Outdoor; 27 Spit-in-the-ocean. DOWN: 1 Navigates; 2 Noticed; 3 Tartrates; 5 Thumbs down; 6 Hello; 7 Lineman; 8 Idol; 13 Chatterton; 15 Larghetto; 16 Hit-and-run; 18 Road map; 20 Scrooge; 22 Event; 24 and 21 down Bothwell.

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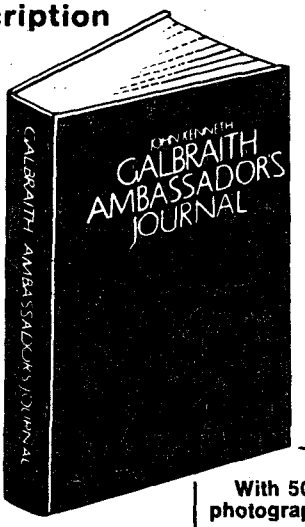

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